UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

NEW DIMENSIONS OF SUBNATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY: LESSONS FROM TRANSNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION THROUGH THE NORTHERN REGIONS MOVEMENT

BY

JUNICHI INUI ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled: **New Dimensions of Subnational Foreign Policy: Lessons from Transnational Environmental Cooperation through the Northern Regions Movement** submitted by **Junichi Inui** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

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ABSTRACT

Subnational diplomacy called the Northern Regions Movement (NRM) was initiated in the seventies by the Hokkaido Prefectural Government and the Sapporo City Office in Japan in cooperation with Canadian, Chinese, Russian, Scandinavian, and U.S. subnational authorities. NRM has been promoting transnational environmental policy collaboration as a central agenda.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction 1

Chapter 1 The Perforated Sovereignties Model 3

Chapter 2 Case Study

Section 1 International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC) 12

Section 2 The Northern Forum 27

Conclusion

Section 1 The Northern Regions Movement (NRM): Summary 46

Section 2 The Perforated Sovereignties Model Reconsidered 52

Section 3 Concluding Remarks 61

Footnotes 78

Bibliography 89

Appendix 1 IAMNC Membership Contributions 96

Appendix 2 The Northern Forum Membership Contributions 97

Appendix 3 The Japanese Constitution Articles 92-95 98

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Participants in the 1st NIC (1982) 65

Table 2 Participants in the 2nd NIC (1985) 65

Table 3 Participants in the 3rd NIC (1988) 65

Table 4 Participants in the 4th NIC (1990) 66

Table 5 Participants in the 5th NIC (1992) 66

Table 6 Participants in the 6th NIC and the 1st IAMNC General Assembly (1994) 67

Table 7 Participants in the 1st NRC (1974) 67

Table 8 Participants in the 2nd NRC (1979) 68

Table 9 Participants in the 3rd NRC (1990) 69

Table 10 Participants in the Northern Forum 1st Board of Directors Meeting (1992) 69

Table 11 Participants in the Northern Forum 1st General Assembly (1993) 70

Table 12 Participants in the Northern Forum 2nd Board of Directors Meeting (1994) 70

Table 13 Participants in the Northern Forum 2nd General Assembly 71

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Regional Governments and Foreign Policy 72

Figure 2 Chart of NIC and the Winter Cities Biennial 73

Figure 3 Organization Chart of the Northern Forum 74

List of Maps

Map The Northern Region 75

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations 76-77

Introduction

This thesis investigates the validity of what is called the perforated sovereignties model designed to analyze subnational diplomacy, and demonstrates some new dimensions of subnational foreign policy which the model does not cover. For these aims, I will conduct a case study of transnational environmental cooperation through the Northern Regions Movement (NRM). [1] Limiting my observations to this particular case of subnational diplomacy and the single issue area, I will demonstrate that what mainly drives this subnational diplomatic practice and directs its development is the affluence of subnational units on which subnational elites' diplomatic leadership ultimately depends. Federalism, pluralist democracy, and interdependence have little to do with this subnational diplomatic undertaking. Let me first outline NRM which opens up a truly distinct research area of subnational diplomacy studies.

NRM involves subnational diplomacy by regional governments and cities in a unique regional framework called the Northern Regions, meaning regions in higher latitude than roughly N40 and with winter season or colder mean temperature in January more or less than 0C. NRM was originally undertaken by the Hokkaido Development Agency (HDA) as the Northern Economic Region Initiative (NERI) in the late sixties, aiming at creating an export industry in Hokkaido through the direct import of raw materials from East Siberia and Sakhalin in Russia, and Alaska and Canada in North America. In short, it was the underdevelopment of Hokkaido Prefecture of Japan that triggered NERI. In addition, there has been rivalry between HDA as a national agency and the Hokkaido Government both of which have been in charge of the economic development of Hokkaido. NERI was, however, crippled by political pressures from the Japanese and the U.S.

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[1] J. Inui, "A Regional Perspective on Technology Development: the Northern Regions Movement in Hokkaido, Japan," Master Thesis, Research Policy Institute, the University of Lund (Sweden), 1991, 51-56.

governments since it tried to trade with subnational units of the then Soviet Union amidst the Cold War. NERI was reborn as NRM, and NRM has been promoted by the Government of Hokkaido (Japan) since 1974 and the City of Sapporo (Hokkaido, Japan) since 1982 to improve winter life and find solutions to environmental problems particular to the Northern Regions. NRM has two main driving forces. First, Hokkaido's localism which was created by its historical inner-colony status and underdevelopment in Japan. The Government of Hokkaido and the City of Sapporo attributed the hinterland position of Hokkaido primarily to inhospitable and long winter season which the leading regions of Japan do not share. The second motor of NRM is the inability of Tokyo-centered Japanese diplomacy, which has not paid attention to this region-specific issue. NRM started as self-help diplomacy to improve winter life and the human environment in Hokkaido by direct learning from and cooperation with other Northern Regions across the northern hemisphere.

In 1976, the Northern Regions Center (NRC), a corporate entity, was set up in Sapporo City under the auspice of the Hokkaido Government. Since then NRC has been functioning as a data bank, a think tank, and a public relations office for NRM, independently from the Hokkaido Government. According to the Vice President of NRC, [2] there are three reasons for the establishment of NRC as a corporate entity: first, a private newspaper company played an important role in the initial stage of NRM; second, considering frequent personnel changes in the Hokkaido Government and the Sapporo City Office, it was better to leave NRM to a corporation in order to secure its consistency; third, a corporation is an ideal form of organization to seek private funds and personnel from local enterprises necessary for the promotion of NRM.

NRM is also a double-tracked movement consisting of inter-regional-government conferences and organizations led by the Government of Hokkaido and Sapporo City oriented inter-city ones. Today NRM has two main conferences - the Northern Intercity Conference (NIC) and the Northern Forum. It also has two principal organizations - the International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC) and the Northern Forum Inc. which respectively involve cities and regional governments in the Northern Regions in the Peoples Republic of China, Mongolia, Europe, Japan, North America, Russia, and the Republic of Korea. Environmental cooperation has been the most important issue in NRM although, in recent years, other issues have been discussed such as economy, trade, development, transportation, information network, sport, and culture.

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[2] H. Doi. Personal Interview. September 14, 1995.

Chapter 1 The Perforated Sovereignties Model

Before going to a detailed discussion on the perforated sovereignties model, it is necessary to identify the locus of subnational diplomacy in the rapidly changing international environment.

As D. Elazar [1] argues, the international system has transformed "from one in which politically sovereign states under international law were the only legitimate actors to one in which other entities . . . are also involved . . . " One more recent development is the emergence of the territorial states as, to borrow I. Duchacek's term, [2] "multivocal actors." This is to say that nation-states, especially highly industrialized federal or decentralized ones, should no longer be regarded as homogeneous and single-minded monoliths, nor univocal actors in the international arena.

Two corollaries of these new trends in international relations are the increasing emphasis on the domestic factors of foreign-policy-making and emerging investigations on "diplomatic" relations between nation-states and non-state actors. [3] These approaches to foreign policy studies, however, are not new in the sense that they are built on the traditional assumption of a national government near-monopoly in the conduct of foreign policy. Indeed this assumption is right even today as far as national security and diplomatic status are concerned. But it is not necessarily so when it comes to such "daily bread" issues as investment, trade, and the environment.

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[1] D. Elazar, Introduction, I. Duchacek, D. Latouche, and G. Stevenson, eds., Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988) xviii.

[2] I. Duchacek, "Multicommunal and Bicommunal Polities and Their International Relations," Duchacek, Latouche, and Stevenson, 4.

Therefore another reaction to the transformation of the international system is the emergence of studies which stress the "diplomatic" autonomies of non-national actors. Examples include G. Sorey's pioneering research on the "foreign policy" of multinational enterprises (MNE) which investigates the policy interaction between MNEs and their host governments of all jurisdictional levels. [4] Pushing this argument further, S. Strange [5] maintains that major international firms are now behaving as "diplomats," and that they have created a new category of diplomacy which she calls "firm-firm diplomacy."

This is not an adequate place to judge the right and wrong of these usages of the terms "diplomacy" and "foreign policy." It may safely be said, however, that the de facto diplomatic capabilities of non-state actors, except in such issue areas as security and diplomatic status, are becoming real enough to create a distinct area in foreign policy studies. Taking account, for instance, of the economic power and population size of major regional states and cities as well as their growing welfare roles, the significance and impact of subnational diplomacy in the international scene should not be underestimated.

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[3] C. Hermann, C. Kegley, Jr., and J. Rosenau, eds., New Directions in the Study of Foreign Policy (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987) .

[4] G. Sorey, The Foreign Policy of a Multinational Enterprise (New York: Arno Press, 1980) 7, 33.

[5] S. Strange, "State, Firms and Diplomacy," International Affairs 68 (1992): 1-15.

Lastly, the point which needs to be clarified here is that my pursuit is to investigate how subnational units directly participate in international relations bypassing central governments, not how they influence from within the foreign-policy-making processes of their central governments because this is a domestic factor of foreign policy and well within the scope of state-centric foreign policy studies. The direct involvement of regional governments and municipal authorities in international affairs is a primary concern of the perforated sovereignties model not only because it is a new phenomenon but also on the ground that it is occasionally in direct competition or conflict, though often in harmony, with the national center. B. Hocking's figures (Figure 1) [6] help to define subnational diplomacy: the "revised image" in the figures demonstrates what I mean by subnational diplomacy. I do not mean by the revised image, however, neither the discrepancy between domestic and foreign factors of foreign policy or that between national and subnational diplomacies. They are so closely intertwined today to the extent that they are inseparable. The point I want to make here, instead, is that I limit the discussion to the diplomatic activities conducted by subnational authorities which actually move across national boundaries.

The Perforated Sovereignty Model

The so-called perforated sovereignties model explains the driving force, typology, and future scenarios of "paradiplomacy." [7] The term paradiplomacy refers to international transaction taken by subnational actors ("local" governments, regions, urban communities, and cities), supporting, complementing, correcting, duplicating, or challenging inter-state diplomacy. The prefix "para" indicates the use of diplomacy outside of the traditional state-centered framework.

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[6] B. Hocking, "Regional Governments and International Affairs: Foreign Policy Problems or Deviant Behaviour?" International Journal 61.3 (1986) 492.

Indeed there seem to be differences between national and subnational diplomacies with regard to, for instance, the length of their history, and their roles in present international relations as we shall see in the following chapters. Therefore it is right to distinguish carefully between these two different types of diplomacy. Even so, the prefix "para" is a word with many shades of meaning, and the term "paradiplomacy" can easily create the impression that diplomatic activities conducted by subnational actors do not constitute "real" diplomacy. To avoid such a misunderstanding, I employ "subnational diplomacy" as shorthand for regional and municipal diplomacy.

According to Elazar, [8] the concept of "perforated sovereignties" means two major phenomena. First, the emergence of the "marbled" or segmented/coordinated conduct of international relations caused by growing global interdependence in issue areas other than security and diplomatic status. Second, increasing transborder cooperative frameworks and their institutionalization. The factors which cause these phenomena are various. The opposition or the second national voice, private interest groups such as transnational corporations, and migrants and commuting workers are good illustrations. But the perforator that the perforated sovereignties model pays exclusive attention to is subnational diplomacy promoted by the growing skills of subnational officials in obtaining access to the international arena.[9] The first component of the perforated sovereignties model is the driving force of subnational diplomacy. I. Duchacek[10] identifies the following five motives for subnational elites to engage in international transactions especially since the 1970s: first, the expansion of the field of foreign policy from the traditional concerns with status and defense into economic, social cultural, and environmental issue areas; second, the imperatives of contemporary global and regional interdependence; third, the increasing welfare roles of governments and authorities at all jurisdictional levels; fourth, the awareness of vulnerability to distant events such as the oil shocks on the part of regional elites; fifth, the drastic development of communication technology, and the subnational elites' increasing knowledge about and skill to handle external threats to, or opportunities for, their territorial interests. Duchacek does not indicate the relative importance of these factors.

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[7] P. Soldatos, "Cascading Subnational Paradiplomacy in an Inter-dependent and Transnational World, D. Brown and E. Fry, eds., States and Provinces in the International Economy (Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California, Berkeley, 1993) 46.

[8] Elazar, xx.

Turning now to the question concerning why subnational diplomacy mushroomed especially in the 1970s, Duchacek[11] provides three explanations. In the first place, the world energy crisis followed by the world recession. Next, the continuing arms race, unemployment, budget and export trade deficits. Finally, the ensuing dwindling of central support for subnational welfare and developing programs. All these phenomena that date from the early 1970s, according to Duchacek, have caused the subnational awareness of vulnerability and subnational leaders' search for self-help alternatives beyond national boundaries. In short, Duchacek's argument is that mushrooming subnational diplomacy pushed by such self-help needs during the seventies created global as well as regional interdependence. The impact of these three types of causes on the emergence of subnational diplomacy in the seventies, however, must be measured on a case-by-case basis.

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[9] Duchacek, Latouche, and Stevenson, 5-6.

[10] Duchacek, Latouche, and Stevenson, 6-7.

[11] Duchacek, "The International Dimension of Subnational Self-Government," PUBLIUS 14 (1984) 10.

Apart from the logic of interdependence, Duchacek [12] adds four more practical motors of subnational diplomacy. To begin with, subnational leaders and their publics are often frustrated by central governments which are over-bureaucratized and unfamiliar with regional and municipal issues. Subnational elites' opposition to the monopoly of foreign policy even in the fields that are normally more important for subnational units. These two are what I call "localism." Third, "me-tooism" which refers to the tendency for subnational leaders to emulate, in particular, the economic and diplomatic success of other regional and municipal counterparts obtained through subnational diplomacy. Finally, the personal ambitions of subnational political leaders. A good instance is the well-publicized trade promotion trip to China in 1985 by Bavaria's minister-president Franz Joseph who requested to be received by and photographed with Deng Xiaoping during the trip apparently for personal promotion at home.[13] As will be demonstrated in Chapter 2, this is the motive behind many other diplomatic activities pursued by regional and municipal leaders. Nonetheless, it is highly doubtful if their appearance abroad may have any positive impact on the attitude of the voters back home.

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[12] Duchacek, "Perforated Sovereignties: Towards a Typology of New Actors in International Relations," H. Michelmann and P. Soldatos, eds., Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 14-24.

The most important addition to be made to the above-mentioned motors of subnational diplomacy is separatism which is currently applicable only to the unique diplomatic practices of Quebec, Canada, seeking to defend its cultural-national survival as well as ordinary low politics interests. The French Government has granted nearly full diplomatic privileges to the Delegation generale du Quebec en France in Paris, while it refused the attempt of Ontario to obtain similar privileges. The landslide victories of the Bloc Quebecois and the Party Quebecois in the 1993 general election and in the 1994 local election respectively amplified Quebec's separatist messages abroad.[14] Since 1964, Quebec has signed approximately 400 agreements with over 70 sovereign countries and a dozen international organizations including la francophonie out of which several agreements have, according to the Bloc Quebecois, recognized status in public international law.[15] No other subnational entity has so far affirmed its international identity as extensively as Quebec. It is not necessary, however, for the purpose of this thesis to enter into a detailed discussion of Quebec's extreme case. Duchacek [16] classifies Quebec's involvement in international transactions as "protodiplomacy" driven by separatism. In other words, protodiplomacy means the conduct of international relations by a non-central government for the purpose of establishing a fully sovereign state. To inquire further into the matter would lead us to that specialized area of protodiplomacy which, at least officially, aims to formulate and implement "national" foreign policy in the future. Such a digression would obscure the outline of this pursuit which investigates the diplomatic practices conducted by subnational actors behaving themselves as "subnational" authorities. Another reason for excluding protodiplomacy from my studies is that I aim to scrutinize subnational diplomatic practices in "daily bread" or "low politics" issue areas such as environmental cooperation. In sharp contrast to my pursuit, protodiplomacy associated with separatism often involves "high politics" areas ranging from the use of force, as was the original definition of high politics given by R. Keohane and J. Nye, [17] to subnational units' seeking of international status. However, it is a useful point of reference that Quebec's subnational diplomacy searches not only for cultural survival and sovereignty but also, and increasingly, for economic objectives. This is why regional officials in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario, whose subnational diplomatic practices have nothing to do with separatism, acknowledge that "Quebec has thrown light on an international path that could benefit their own provinces." [18] I limit the scope of the perforated sovereignties model in this way and employ it as a guide to investigate the Northern Regions Movement which is an ideal case of what I define as subnational diplomacy.

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[13] Duchacek, Toward a Typology of New Subnational Governmental Actors in International Relations (Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1987) 15.

[14] The Members of the Bloc Quebecois, Toward A Different Foreign Policy (Special Joint Commitee of the Senate and the House of Commons Reviewing Canada's Foreign Policy, 1994) 8.

[15] Duchacek, "Multicommunal and Bicommunal Polities," 7, 14-24.

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[16] Duchacek, "Multicommunal and Bicommunal Polities," 22-23.

[17] R. Keohane and J. Nye, Power and Interdependence - World Politics in Transition. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977) 24.

[18] E. Feldman and L. Feldman, "Canada," H. Michelmann and P. Soldatos, eds., Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 181.

Let me here leave the driving forces and turn to the typology of subnational diplomacy. Duchacek [19] classifies such direct transnational interactions, pursued by subnational units, into the following three categories. First, "transborder regional paradiplomacy," meaning various formal institutions or compacts and informal networks to bring contiguous subnational authorities into binational or multinational cooperative associations along and across national boundaries. The second category is "transregional paradiplomacy" which describes connections and negotiations between non-central governments that are not neighbors but whose national governments are. Thirdly, "global paradiplomacy" that refers to subnational contacts with both central and non-central governments of "distant" nations and their various branches or agencies. Unfortunately, Duchacek provides for us no theoretical reason he classifies subnational diplomacy into these three categories.

If there is any hypothesis in the perforated sovereignties model, it can be found in the future scenarios of subnational diplomacy which the model contains. Taking into account the undesirable features of subnational diplomatic activities from the standpoint of traditional center-to-center diplomacy, Duchacek [20] suggests the four likely scenarios of marbled foreign policy which describes a mixture of national and subnational diplomacies. The first scenario is "secessionist fragmentation" caused by separatists' protodiplomacy which is, as I have already mentioned, excluded from my studies. The second of the scenarios is "tight centralization" in foreign policy. This re-centralization of foreign policy can be understood as a negative response from the central government to too many international actors. Few cases, it seems to me, suit this second scenario. Third, "combinative foreign policy" is likely if coordination efforts by governments at all levels are successful in combining various international initiatives from the territorial components. The fourth and the most probable scenario is "cooperative/competitive segmentation" which means the coexistence of cooperation and competition between national centers' foreign policy and non-central diplomacy.

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[19] Duchacek, "Perforated Sovereignties, " 9-26.

[20] Duchacek, "Perforated Sovereignties, " 29.

Chapter 2 Case Study

Section 1 International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC)

The International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC), which was established in 1994, is the further institutionalization of a series of the Northern Intercity Conferences of Mayors (NIC) initiated by the City of Sapporo (Hokkaido, Japan) 1982. (See Figure 2)

The First Northern Intercity Conference of Mayors was convened in Sapporo, Japan, in 1982 by an initiative taken by the then Mayor Itagaki of Sapporo City in 1981. [1] The primary objective of this conference was to overcome the problems particular to winter cities such as heavy snow fall, low temperatures, and short daylight hours in the winter. Defining winter cities as those which are located in latitude higher than N40 and whose mean temperature in January is below 0C, [2] the Mayor of Sapporo commenced, through the First Conference, learning from other winter cities their practices to improve winter life and environment in Sapporo. The Sapporo City Office explains that the City of Sapporo embarked on this unique inter-city diplomacy since the Tokyo-centered national diplomacy of Japan was not interested in such issues as the improvement of urban life and environment in winter cities.[3] The first NIC involved cities in both adjoining and remote as well as federal and non-federal countries (See Table 1). As the result of the success of the First NIC, it was agreed among the participant winter cities to convene NIC biennially. The then Mayor Purves of Edmonton offered to host NIC at a future, but unspecified date.

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[1] Sapporo City Office (SCO), The First Northern Intercities Conference Report [Japanese] (SCO, 1982).

[2] IAMNC, International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities: Application for Membership (SCO, 1994) 3.

Influenced by the First NIC, the Livable Winter Cities Association, later known as the Winter Cities Association (WCA), was founded in Canada by non-public officers in 1982, aiming at making winter cities more livable. At approximately the same time, the City of Edmonton, which was impressed by the First NIC, was planning to hold a public forum named the Edmonton Winter Cities Forum in 1986 as Edmonton's own event. The City of Edmonton was also preparing to host the larger Third NIC scheduled to be convened in 1988. WCA acted as an advisory organization to the Edmonton Winter Cities Forum, and the City of Edmonton formed a non-profit corporation named the Edmonton Winter Cities Conference Corporation to organize and administer the event.[4] According to a Sapporo City official,[5] the main objective of the corporation was to convene the Edmonton Winter Cities Forum with the minimum budget of the Edmonton City by involving local businesses and volunteers in the event.

Before the Edmonton Winter Cities Forum, the Second NIC was held in Shenyang, China, in 1985 (See Table 2).[6] As NIC did not introduce the concept of membership, there is a significant difference between the participants in the First and Second NICs. One year after the Second NIC, the Edmonton Winter Cities Forum was held successfully as the Edmonton's own international forum. Edmonton then decided to convene the following three events together with the Third NIC: the Winter Cities Forum mentioned above, the Winter Expo which is a small trade show, and the Winter Cities Award Competition to encourage and award unique goods and ideas contributing to winter life improvement. These combined three events were named the "International Winter Cities Showcase." Simultaneously, Edmonton set up the International Winter Cities Committee (IWCC) as a subcommittee of the Edmonton Winter Cities Conference Corporation and located its standing Secretariat in the Edmonton City Office to promote, coordinate, and govern the International Winter Cities Showcase.

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[3] SCO, "Northern Intercities Conference: Seeking for the Amenity of Winter Cities [Japanese]," Jititai Kokusaika Forum 67 (Tokyo: Jichitai Kokusaika Kyoukai, 1995) 40.

[4] D. K. Martin, International Winter Cities Committee: Committee Profile [TS] (City of Edmonton, 1990).

[5] M. Yamamoto, Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

[6] SCO, The Second Northern Intercities Conference Report [Japanese] (SCO, 1985).

The Third NIC and the First Winter Cities Showcase were opened in Edmonton in 1988 (See Table 3).[7] The mayors participating in reached an agreement that the Winter Cities Showcase should be held jointly with NIC biennially. They also ratified a motion to create the Northern Intercity Conference Committee (NICC) which was charged with the responsibility of convening NIC, and to locate its Secretariat in the Sapporo City Office. The Winter Cities Conference Corporation was dissolved in 1988 since the Corporation had fulfilled its task, and the IWCC became a separate organization.[8] The Winter Cities Biennial is shorthand for NIC and the Winter Cities Showcase which is composed of the Winter Cities Forum, the Winter Expo, and the Winter Cities Award Competition. In my thesis, however, I focus on the development of NIC since the Winter Cities Showcase, which is organized by IWCC, is organizationally separated from NIC in spite of the fact that they are convened together in the Winter Cities Biennial. As I mention later in this chapter, environmental "policy" cooperation among winter cities has been the task of the Environmental Subcommittee which was first set up within NICC in 1988 and, since 1995, has been organized by IAMNC.

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[7] Northern Intercities Conference Committee (NICC), The Third Northern Intercities Conference Report (SCO, 1988).

[8] Martin, International Winter Cities Committee.

Let me here summarize the main points that were discussed at the First, Second and Third NICs in the environmental issue area. They are: regulations for studded tires (rubber tires with iron pins that were used in European, Japanese and North American winter cities in order to secure safe wintertime drive on skiddy road surfaces); road management and environmental protection in winter; snow removal and transportation; energy-saving measures; and facility construction in conformity with winter needs. These first three NICs functioned as fora in which the participant winter cities exchanged ideas, created and provided by each winter city on an individual basis, to solve the winter-city-specific environmental problems listed above. As we have seen, the participant winter cities largely differed between the First and Third NICs since NIC did not have fixed members (See Tables 1-3). It was also up to each of the participant winter cities whether it would reflect the ideas exchanged at these NICs in its environmental policy. For instance, Sapporo City, which found through the three NICs that studded tires were used only in winter cities in Japan at that time, introduced a bylaw to ban studded tires in 1987. Other winter cities in North America and Europe had banned them much earlier than Sapporo to avoid the so-called studded tire problem. The problem, in short, is caused by rubber tires embedded with iron pins to prevent cars from skidding in winter season. Studded tires chip off road pavement, and then create hazardous minute grains of asphalt, road surface treatment and stud iron which are blown up by wind in spring.

At the Fourth NIC (Tromso, Norway) in 1990, [9] Sapporo City presented a survey report on the snow removal conditions in winter cities which summarized answers to a questionnaire survey conducted by Sapporo City concerning snow removal and road management in winter.[10] Answers were obtained from Oslo, Edmonton, Anchorage, Hull, Lulea, Montreal, Oulu, Nuuk, Harbin, Lillehammer, Minneapolis as well as Sapporo. All these respondent cities participated in the Forth NIC in addition to Innsbruck, Calgary, Shenyang, Tampere, Albertville, Takikawa, Tromso, and Stockholm (See Table 4). The studded tire problem is a double-edged one. Once studded tires are banned, environmental problems caused by the hazardous minute grains are solved. Without studded tires, however, it becomes hard to secure safe road conditions for traffic in winter. For this reason, winter cities have been using a significant amount of salt and anti-freeze chemicals for de-icing, which causes damage to iron components of automobiles and pollutes water resources.

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[9] NICC, The Fourth Northern Intercities Conference Report (SCO, 1990).

At this stage, the goal of Sapporo City was to introduce to participant cities a variety of winter road management practices. Yet the survey report created an unexpected sensation among the participants as each city recognized the necessity of stronger cooperation in studying winter road management. In response to the keen interest shown by the participants in the Fourth NIC, the City of Sapporo announced that it would set up a joint working group to research more efficient winter road management and find solutions to the pollution caused by anti-freeze agents, and that it would bear the whole expense of the working group.

The working group was named the Winter Urban Environmental Research Subcommittee, composed of city officials of seven winter cities: Tromso, Innsbruck, Minneapolis, Edmonton, Montreal, Shenyang, and Sapporo. The Environmental Subcommittee immediately started a two-year research project. This event marked the second phase of environmental cooperation among winter cities since there was no mechanism for long-term joint research among winter cities until then. In 1991, the First Environmental Subcommittee Meeting was held in Sapporo, and the Second Meeting in Montreal in conjunction with the Fifth NIC.

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[10] SCO, A Survey on Snow Removal Conditions in Northern Cities (SCO, 1990).

The Fifth NIC had the largest number of participants in the history of NIC: thirty-four winter cities joined it (See Table 5). [11] At the Fifth NIC in 1992, the Environmental Subcommittee presented a report "Harmony between Road Management and Environment in Winter" which summarized the results of the joint research conducted by the Environmental Subcommittee. [12] The report not only demonstrated the state-of-the-art snow removal methods developed and employed by the seven winter cities involved in the Subcommittee but made some valuable suggestions regarding future directions of road management which were designed to avoid pollution caused by the use of antifreeze agents. The Subcommittee's report concerning winter road management attracted so much attention by the participants that the City of Sapporo decided to support the Environmental Subcommittee, which was planned to be dissolved at this NIC, for two more years to continue the joint research project.

A unique feature of the Fifth NIC was the invitation, by Montreal, of a special advisor to the Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) which is generally known as the Earth Summit. The special advisor addressed the conference by outlining the purposes and objective of the UNCED, and recommended the winter cities to actively participate in the central-government oriented UNCED process. [13] Preceding the Fifth NIC, the City of Montreal had set up a loose network of cities and regional governmentsnamed the International Association of Cities and Local Authorities (IACLA) to reflect the voice of subnational authorities in the UNCED

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11 NICC, 5th International Winter Cities Biennial Report: Motreal 1992 (SCO, 1992).

12 Winter Urban Environmental Research Subcommittee (WUERSC), Harmony between Road Management and Environment in Winter: A Survey Report (Road Maintenance Dept., Construction Bureau, SCO, 1992).

13 NICC, 5th International Winter Cities Biennial Report, 19-22.

process. The City of Montreal also made motion requiring the mayors to sign the Rio de Janeiro Declaration which was drafted by Montreal and was to be submitted to the UNCED Secretariat. The declaration claimed that: national governments should endow subnational authorities with more jurisdictional powers and resources to encourage subnational environment and development policy; national governments should also recognize the growing need of subnational units to take part in international cooperation agreements aiming at implementing sustainable development strategies; the UN should set up machinery involving subnational representatives to make their voices heard at the UN conferences concerning environment and development issues; and that the UN should create a fund to support the international activities of subnational authorities for the purpose of promoting their environmental projects and sustainable development. [14]

According to a Sapporo City official involved in NIC, [15] the sudden motion made by Montreal was a grandstand play in order to emphasize the international presence of Montreal as well as Quebec, with little respect for the purposes and procedures of NIC and consensus among NIC participants. About a year before the Fifth NIC, it was reported unofficially from Edmonton to NICC (Sapporo) that Montreal wished to serve as the chair of the Fifth NIC and turn it into an opportunity to gain support from winter cities for the separatist stance of Quebec. [16] Sapporo City, through NICC, filed a stiff protest with Montreal against such a move on the ground that the primary purpose of NIC is the promotion of technical exchange among winter cities. In spite of the criticism, the City of Montreal took the Fifth NIC as an opportunity for admiring French language and appealing the legitimacy of Quebec's separatism in formal and informal ways. Simply, other winter cities had not agreed to include these political topics in the Fifth NIC. Added to this, Montreal proposed the Fifth NIC participants without notice to join the Rio de Janeiro declaration and IACLA. In accordance with the NICC Charter, Montreal should have informed the plan of non-host winter cities at the Preliminary Meeting for the Fifth NIC held in February 1991. [17] For this reason, most of the winter city mayors signed the declaration not as mayors but as private persons except the Mayor Fink of Anchorage who found the declaration too much environment-protection-oriented and therefore did not sign at all. [18]

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[14] International Association of Cities and Local Authorities (IACLA), A Common Declaration on Behalf of the World's Cities and Local Authorities (City of Montreal, 1992).

[15] M. Yamamoto, "On the IAMNC: Seeking for Livable Winter Cities [Japanese]," 14-15. Unpublished draft prepared for the Sapporo Library, Winter in Sapporo, forthcoming.

The Sapporo City official adds one more problem regarding the Fifth NIC. [19] The then Mayor Dore of Montreal founded a corporate body, "the 1992 Winter Cities Monreal Foundation (WCM)," composed of nearly 300 convention-related businessmen, who were mostly Mayor Dore's admiring satellites, to manage the NIC. The impression of the Sapporo City official was that the private-business led WCM was prior to the temporal commercial opportunities which the NIC afforded for the local convention businesses in Montreal. The Sapporo City official regrets that Montreal did not fully understand the importance of NIC's long-term policy discussions. The Sapporo City official also reminisces about the great difficulty of handling the NIC with WCM's non-official staff. Judging from these remarks, there is little doubt that Montreal tried to use the NIC as an opportunity to advance the international presence of the city itself rather than the NIC as a whole and to benefit its local convention-related businesses.

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[16] M. Yamamoto, Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

[17] NICC, Preliminary Meeting for the 5th Northern Intercity Conference Report (SCO, 1991).

[18] M. Yamamoto, Personal Interview, 20 September, 1995.

[19] Yamamoto, Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

Despite the troubles caused by the City of Montreal, the Fifth NIC took an enormous leap forward on the point that NIC established an unofficial relationship with the UN for the first time. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) expressed great interest in the survey report compiled by the Environmental Subcommittee. [20] Then, on behalf of IACLA, Mr. Ruvin, the Cahir of the Urban Consortium, delivered a speech to the Fourth Preparatory Committee of the UNCED on March 26, 1992 to reflect the objectives of the Rio de Janeiro declaration in the UNCED process. [21] It must be stressed again here that the Rio de Janeiro declaration did not obtain official support from the winter city majors who attended the Fifth NIC. Apart form the problem, the speech itself emphasized, in particular, that subnational authorities were increasingly bearing the major burden of the costs for environmental protection; local authorities in the U.S. and Denmark respectively expended 55% and 91% of all their government budgets for environmental protection in 1991. This is the case in Japan as well. Subnational authorities of Japan bore about 74% of total governmental expenditures for environmental measures in fiscal year 1991. [22] IACLA and other international organizations of subnational authorities, such as the International Union of Local Authorities and the World Association of the Major Metropolises, influenced the Secretariat of UNCED to prepare one chapter in Agenda 21 for subntational authorities. Chapter 28, Part III, of

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[20] Yamamoto, 11.

[21] IACLA, Notes for Remarks (City of Montreal, 1992). Note of the speech distributed at the Fourth PreparatoryCommittee Meeting of the UNCED in New York on 26 March 1992.

[22] Inui, "New Dimensions of Environmental Cooperation among the Northern Regions [Japanese]," Hoppoken [The Northern Regions] 83 (1993): 31.

Agenda 21 titled "Local Authorities' Initiative in Support of Agenda 21" advises that local authorities across the world should undertake a consultative process with their populations and achieve a consensus on "a local Agenda 21" for their communities by 1996. [23] To my knowledge, the local Agenda 21, is the first attempt made by the UN to officially involve local authorities in its environment and development action plans. In addition, the local Agenda 21 seems to be the most likely channel through which subnational authorities affect UN activities in environmental issue areas. Nonetheless, NIC and IAMNC have not employed the local Agenda 21 process as yet. This passive attitude of winter cities toward the UNCED process is understandable when the rather poor research and development capacity of winter cities in environmental policy fields is considered. According to a technical advisor to the Environmental Subcommittee, the budget and expertise of winter cities for the purpose of promoting environmentally sound winter road management systems are not substantial in comparison. [24] In the first place, research projects on winter road management had been initiated by other organizations with bigger budgets and larger numbers of specialists prior to the establishment of the Subcommittee. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) had presented the results of its Europe-focused studies on this topic. The Midwest Research Institute in the U.S., too, had inaugurated the "Strategic Highway Research Program (SHARP) " sponsored by the U.S. federal government. Taking account of the comparative deficiency in resources and expertise available to winter cities, the advisor explains, it is not within the bounds of possibility that the Subcommittee will make a winter-road-management technical breakthrough on its own. Holding two Subcommittee meetings and compiling the first survey report cost $400,000. This was extremely expensive for the City of Sapporo, the only sponsor of the joint research project. In addition, although main national highways have the greatest need for environmentally sound winter road management, most winter city offices do not have jurisdiction over them. Lastly, there is no single optimum winter road management applicable to all winter cities due to regional differences of temperatures and snow fall patterns.

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[23] United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, Rio Declaration, Forest Principles: Drafts (UN Publication, 1992) Part III, 23-25.

[24] T. Kawabata, Personal Interview, 13 October 1992.

At the Sixth NIC convened in Anchorage in 1994, [25] the second Environmental Subcommittee report, "a Technical Manual on Winter Road Management," [26] was presented to the NIC members. The following cities participated in the Environmental Subcommittee: Montreal, Edmonton, Minneapolis, Tromso, Innsbruck, Shenyang, Sapporo and Anchorage. Hull, Calgary, and Helsinki also offered the Subcommittee relevant information. The report was to serve as a guideline for minimum use of anti-freeze agents for winter road management. It recommends winter cities to stop using some hazardous anti-freeze alternatives for de-icing. It then emphasizes a need for each winter city to develop measures for the following three purposes: first, more effective application of anti-freeze solution; second, prevention of pollution caused by the spread of anti-freeze agents; third, reduction of dependence on salt for de-icing. The report, however, does not impose on each winter city a uniform policy guideline for winter road management. Instead, the Mayor Katsura of Sapporo just recommended to the participants to find optimum measures for each of them to avoid anti-freeze-agent-related pollution.

The Sixth NIC became an epoch-making event since a major organizational change of NIC took place during the Conference. At the Preliminary Meeting for the Sixth NIC, organized in February 1993, the Charter of IAMNC was drafted by attending winter city mayors, and the Charter came into effect on January 1, 1994. [27] Until the Fifth NIC, the NICC, which was formed by the mayors of the past host cities and whose secretariat was located in the Sapporo City Office, was in charge of administrating and coordinating NIC.[28] As NICC did not have fixed membership, participants of NIC were attended on an ad hoc basis, and there were significant changes in the participants in the series of NICs. According to an official of Sapporo City,[29] the Fifth NIC in Montreal became the momentum of this reorganization of NICC. Summing up his comments, the Fifth NIC was attended by the largest number of winter cities, which caused a weaker unity among them. One of the major aims of this reorganization is to make NICC introduce fixed membership and function as a single transnational organization that is formed by winter cities of different states. The second purpose is to reform NIC as a conference to exchange among winter cities expertise which is to be utilized by each winter city for the improvement of its actual wintertime environmental policy, not as a means to realize the selfish interests of host cities.

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[25] IAMNC, 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report (SCO, 1994).

[26] WUERSC, The Technical Manual on Winter Road Management (Road Maintenance Dept., Construction Bureau, SCO, 1994).

[27] IAMNC, International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities, 2.

The Sixth NIC was the first NIC organized by IAMNC.[30] Thirty winter cities attended this NIC, and the first General Assembly of IAMNC was convened by the fifteen of the attendees (See Table 6). The main organizational structure of IAMNC is represented by the following organs.[31] The General Assembly, consisting of the member city mayors, is the ultimate decision-making organ which is to be convened every two years in conjunction with NIC. Next, the Secretariat, which has not yet taken the form of a corporate entity, is located in the International Affairs Department, General Affairs Bureau of the City of Sapporo, and the Director General of the Department serves as the Secretary

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[28] NICC, Northern Intercity Conference Committee Charter (SCO, 1989).

[29] Yamamoto, 14-16.

[30] IAMNC, The 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report , 3-15.

[31] IAMNC, The International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities Charter.

General. The City of Sapporo is responsible for the expense for the operation of the Secretariat. The Board of Directors consists of one President, three Vice Presidents, three Directors (two Standing and one Non-standing), and one Auditor. The Mayor of Sapporo was elected as the first President. Although the most of these IAMNC positions are chosen and assigned at the General Assembly every two or four years, mayors of the immediately preceding and following host cities of NIC at the moment of drafting the Charter were automatically assigned as Standing Directors. As it was agreed at the first General Assembly that Winnipeg will host the Seventh NIC in 1996, Anchorage and Winnipeg were chosen as Standing Directors. They also agreed that the Eighth NIC will be held in Harbin in 1998. The Mayor of Innsbruck was elected as Non-standing Director. The three Vice Presidents are chosen in the following way: one from North America, one from Asia, and one from Europe. This is the first attempt to create regional groups in winter cities to reflect the differences among these three regions in terms of economic and political interests, culture, and natural environment. At the first General Assembly, the Mayors of Shenyang, Edmonton and Tromso were elected as Vice Presidents in accordance with the regional grouping.

Turning to the financial sources of IAMNC, [32] the expenses necessary for convening the General Assembly, Board Meetings, and NIC, and implementing IAMNC's projects are covered by membership fees and other contributions. Some host cities of NIC, except Sapporo, have received contributions from their central governments, which proves that this subnational diplomacy does consume national funds. The membership fee for each member city is calculated in accordance with the per capita GDP of the country to which the city belongs and the city's population. As a result, the annual membership fee for each city ranges from $500 up to $15,000. It was agreed at the First General Assembly that 20% of IAMNC's total revenue is allocated t o the General Assembly, 50% to NIC, and 30% to the cities serving as the Secretariats of Subcommittees. The details of IAMNC's membership fees are listed in Table 7. [33] As is clear from the Table, Sapporo City alone disburses nearly three times more budget than the total of IAMNC's membership fees mainly for the maintenance of IAMNC's Secretariat.

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[32] IAMNC, The 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report, 11, 15-28, 19-123.

At the Sixth NIC, the Winter Urban Environmental Research Subcommittee was temporarily dissolved on the ground that it accomplished the expected task. IAMNC members agreed during the NIC to set up the Urban Garbage Recycling Technology Subcommittee based on the result of the questionnaire survey conducted by the City of Sapporo to identify the environmental issue with the highest concern among the member winter cities. [34] The City of Lulea offered to host the new Environmental Subcommittee and to act as its Secretariat. Apart from this environmental issue, one more Subcommittee was set up at the Sixth NIC, that is the Subcommittee on Winternet to promote a computer information network among the member winter cities, and its Secretariat is located in the Edmonton City Office. The Mayor of Sapporo expressed his desire to increase the number of Subcommittees, to strengthen the joint research function of IAMNC, and to enhance the feedback from NIC to the policy of each member winter city.

The worst news to IAMNC is that Montreal withdrew from the organization in July 1995. [35] The new Mayor Bourque of Montreal, who won the mayoral election in November 1994 against incumbent Jean Dore, notified IAMNC that the city would no longer pay its membership fee to IAMNC as a result of a CA$100 million cut from

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[33] IAMNC Secretariat, Interior Document, Obtained on 20 September1995.

[34] IAMNC, The 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report, Appendix D.

[35] K. Imai and T. Watanabe (IAMNC Secretariat), Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

Montreal's budget.[36] The IAMNC Secretariat ascribes the withdrawal of Montreal to the city's financial stringency and the new Mayor's return to basic municipal values.[37] It may be worth referring to two more points concerning IAMNC here. First, the near absence of Russian cities in IAMNC. Throughout the twelve-year history of NIC, only two Russian cities have joined NICs (Leningrad in the Third and Bratsk in the Sixth). There were some cities at the Sixth NIC which argued that IAMNC should invite Russian counterparts to NIC even at IAMNC's own expense, taking into account the increasing economic, political, and environmental problems that Russian cities have been faced with since the collapse of the U.S.S.R.[38] The Cold War blocked the participation of Soviet cities in NIC during the eighties. Now it is economic barriers that are impeding the participation of Russian winter cities in NIC. A glance at the members of IAMNC makes it clear that they are highly symmetrical at least in terms of economic and technological standards except for Chinese cities. In the second place, the relationships between IAMNC and the UN must be considered. As I have already mentioned, NIC has had some contact with the UN through the UNEP and the UNCED. Furthermore, IAMNC has recently entered negotiation with the UN, seeking official NGO status. A Sapporo City official offers three reasons for this move.[39] First, as UN official NGO status adds to IAMNC an authoritative and formal atmosphere, the status is likely to produce an environment conducive for IAMNC to gain more members. Second, official NGOs are able to obtain information from the UN on a preferential basis. The third reason is that, once official NGO status is given, IAMNC will be able to attract attention of the world to NIC's activities through UN organizations and conferences. The

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[36] S. Boskey, "Election of Pierre Bourque as Mayor of Montreal, Quebec," Canadian Dimension Feb.-March (1995): 5-7.

[37] Imai and Watanabe, Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

[38] IAMNC, The 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report, 11-12.

[39] Yamamoto, Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

Sapporo City official, at the same time, emphasizes that the UN is nothing more than one of the possible international organizations with which IAMNC will seek formal connections in the future.

Section 2 The Northern Forum

The Northern Forum (See Figure 3) was founded in 1991 by the governors who participated in the Third Northern Regions Conference held in Alaska in 1990. The Northern Regions Conference is a general term for the three conferences which were convened by governors of the Northern Regions to promote environmental cooperation among them: first, the International Conference on Environment in Northern Regions organized in Hokkaido, Japan, on the initiative of the Government of Hokkaido in 1974 to promote the spirit of the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm (1972) at a subnational level [40] (See Table 7); next, the Second International Conference on Human Environment in Northern Regions held in Alberta, Canada, in 1979 [41] (See Table 8); lastly, the Third Northern Regions Conference [42] as mentioned above from whose title the term "environment" was dropped in order to widen its agenda beyond environmental cooperation (See Table 9). The term the Northern Regions generally refers to the regional governments (local states, provinces, prefectures, counties, autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and districts) in high latitudes with significant winter season. Some mayors, however, took part only in the First Northern Regions Conference.

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[40] Government of Hokkaido (GOH), The International Conference on Environment Report (Japanese) (Sapporo, Japan: GOH, 1974).

[41] Government of Alberta, The Second International Conference on the Human Environment in Northern Regions, (Edmonton, Canada: Government of Alberta, 1979).

[42] Government of Alaska, Cooperation in A Changing World: Third Northern Regions Conference Report (Anchorage, U.S.A.: Government of Alaska, 1990).

These three series of Northern Regions Conferences offered the participant governors fora to exchange information on common environmental problems and solutions. Hokkaido's bylaw to ban studded tires (rubber tires with iron pins), which came into effect in 1984, was one of the fruits of these Conferences. [43] In this way, discussions at Northern Regions Conferences were fed back to the environmental policy machinery of each participant regional government. There was, however, no attempt to embark on a common environmental project among the participants in the Northern Regions Conferences. [44] In the first place, this was because the Northern Regions Conferences were held on an ad hoc basis without a standing executive body, which caused long intervals between the three Conferences. These intervals impeded long-term and consistent environmental collaboration between Northern Regions. Next, there were also significant changes in the governors of Northern Regions themselves as well as in the participants in the Northern Regions Conferences between 1974 and 1990. As a result, most U.S. regional governments, for instance, did not take part in the Third Conference. Lastly, the Third Conference introduced a wider range of topics including business, communication, and transportation than the First Conference which focused solely on environmental issues.

At the Third Northern Regions Conference, therefore, a pressing need was expressed in particular by Hokkaido and Alaska, both of whom played a leading role in the Conference, to set up a permanent general assembly body and a standing secretariat to pursue the purposes and objectives of the Northern Regions Conference more efficiently. Thus, the Governor's Summit, held at the Third Northern Regions Conference, agreed on a joint statement that established the Northern Forum as a permanent assembly body and a small secretariat to promote communication among leaders of the

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[43] J. Inui, "New Dimensions of Environmental Policy Cooperation among Northern Regions (Japanese)," Hoppoken [The Northern Regions] 83 (1993) 35.

[44] Inui, "New Dimensions," 32.

Northern Regions. [45] The State of Alaska offered a temporary office for the Secretariat, and the then Governor Hickel of Alaska took the responsibility of drafting the Northern Forum Charter and Bylaws. In 1991, the Northern Forum, as an international organization of regional governments in the Northern Regions, was founded by thirteen regional governments in Canada, the Peoples Republic of China, Finland, Japan, Mongolia, Norway, Russia, and the U.S. It should be noted here that the members of the Northern Forum are asymmetrical in terms of economic and technological standards, social systems, and culture. It is also the case that the Northern Forum is composed of adjacent and remote regional subnational authorities in both neighboring and distant as well as centralist and federalist countries.

According to the joint statement, and the Northern Forum Charter and Bylaws, [46] the Northern Forum was founded to cope with the common problems in the Northern Regions ranging from harsh winter climate, fragile ecosystem with significant impact on global environment, economies heavily dependent on natural resources, and all the way to the special responsibilities of maintaining and enhancing the unique culture of indigenous nations. An important point to be made here is that these problems are, in many cases, specific to the territories which the Northern Forum's members govern among other geographic areas in the countries that they belong to.

Two of the main components of the Northern Forum are the General Assembly referred to as the Northern Forum and the Secretariat or the Northern Forum Inc. The General Assembly is to be held biennially, attended by the Northern Forum's members entitled to Member Level Type I which is limited to regional governments (not city or national) with full voting power and by a Level Type II member which is open to a national government without voting rights, the only member in this category being South Korea at the moment. The other two membership types are the Associate member for businesses and industries, and the Advocate or Support member for individuals and non-profit organizations. The third and fourth types of members also have no voting rights. At present, there are eighteen Level I and one Level II members (See Table 13). The Northern Forum also has two Associate members from business circles and no Advocate or Support member. Thus, the Northern Forum is basically an assembly body consisting of regional governments. As far as I can see, the Northern Forum is the only permanent transnational assembly body that is formed by regional governments.

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[45] Government of Alaska, Statement of Intent: Among the Governors, Premiers, Ministers and Chairs of the Northern Regions (1990). Distributed at the Governor's Summit held in Anchorage, Alaska on19 September 1990.

[46] Government of Alaska, The Northern Forum Charter and the Northern Forum Bylaws (Anchorage: Government of Alaska, 1991).

The Board of Directors consists of all the governors of Member Level Type I regional governments or their designees, and the Northern Forum Bylaws provide that the Board of Directors Meeting should be convened at least once a year. The Board has an Executive Committee, which was set up at the First Board of Directors Meeting in Yukon in 1992, with one Chair and originally two but now three Vice Chairs chosen from and by the Board. Presently, the Chair is the Governor Eriksen of the Regional Authority of Northern Norway, and the three Vice Chairs are President Nikolayev of Sakha Republic (Russia), Governor Hori of Hokkaido Prefecture (Japan), and Governor Knowles of the State of Alaska (U.S.A.). The Executive Committee is responsible for the confirmation of the agenda of the General Assembly and other conferences of the Northern Forum on important issues. Tables 10-13 list the participants in the series of the Board of Directors Meeting and the General Assembly.

The Secretariat of the Northern Forum or the Northern Forum Inc. was a very unique in some respects, having had no global parallel. According to the Northern Forum Charter and Bylaws, the Northern Forum Inc. was formed in Anchorage, Alaska, in 1991 as a nonprofit corporation under the Alaska Nonprofit Corporation Act for charitable, scientific, literary, and educational purposes. In 1992, the office of the Secretariat was moved from the Alaska Government Office to Alaska Pacific University located in Anchorage. The Secretariat is in charge of the administrative, financial and other functions of the Northern Forum. The creation of the Secretariat as a corporate entity was largely the idea of the former Governor Hickel of Alaska, who currently serves as its Secretary General. The former Executive Director, S. Shropshire, of the Northern Forum Inc. explains that a corporate entity would suit local tax purposes and secure the independence of the Northern Forum from its member regional governments. [47] The Northern Forum also had two Associate Offices in Bodo (Northern Norway), and Yakutsk (Sakha Republic of Russia). At the moment of the Second General Assembly held in September 1995, the Secretariat had three full-time staff members none of whom was a public servant at the State of Alaska. The former Executive Director Shropshire, who had had a personal connection with former Alaska Governor Hickel, was hired by Mr. Hickel from local business circles in Alaska as the first Executive Director. [48] Although Mr. Shropshire resigned from the position at the Second General Assembly for reasons that I mention later, the two other full-time staff remained at the Secretariat. Their roles were as an executive assistant and a member relations coordinator. They had academic and public-service-related backgrounds respectively. The Secretariat was unique firstly because these Alaskan staff lacked formal connection between the State of Alaska in spite of the fact that the Secretariat was founded to promote the "subnational" diplomacy of the Northern Forum to which the State of Alaska made greater contributions than any other members.

Another category of standing staff at the Northern Forum Secretariat is that of Regional Coordinator. Although each member government selects a Regional Coordinator for the purpose of overall coordination of the Northern Forum's joint projects, so far three of them have dispatched their Regional Coordinator officials to the Secretariat to facilitate communication between the Secretariat and the members. These three regional governments are Heilongiang Province, Hokkaido Prefecture, and Sakha Republic. Regional Coordinators are to hold Regional Coordinators Meetings at various times to execute items decided by the Board of Directors. One more unique point of the Northern Forum was the coaction between the Regional Coordinators as regional governmental officials and the non-official staff represented by the former Executive Director Shropshire. It was not easy for the two different types of standing staff to search for common ways of doing the tasks assigned to the Secretariat not only due to the cultural and linguistic barriers between them but also because of their distinct business styles, values, and interests. [49] According to Mr. Shropshire, the greatest frustration that he felt as the Executive Director was caused by negotiation with the official standing staff at the Secretariat as well as other officials at the member regional governments including their governors. [50] Such uneasy relationships between the subnational officials and non-public staff constitute the second unique feature of the Secretariat.

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[47] S. Shropshire, Personal Interview, 19 June 1995.

[48] Shropshire, Personal Interview, 19 June 1995.

When it comes to the financial sources of the Northern Forum in fiscal year 1994/95, it had three categories of revenue: membership contributions, grant income, and general fund raising. [51] The annual membership contributions have three levels - ranging from $7,000, $10,000 to $150,000 - one of which is applied to each member local government based on its economic status represented by the Gross Regional Product (GRP). Appendix 3 lists the contributions from the Northern Forum member regional governments as of fiscal year 1994/95. The membership contributions amounted to $215,000 in fiscal year 1994/95. The grant income of $100,000 derived from an appropriation made by the State of Alaska. Lastly, the Government of Hokkaido contributed a special appropriation of $40,000 which made up the general fund-raising of fiscal year 1994/95. At the First General Assembly (See Table 11) held in Tromso (Troms, Norway) in 1993, it was agreed that no single member regional government shall pay more than 25 % of these additional contributions. [52] The Northern Forum has obtained part of the U.S. federal government's American Russian Center Grants. [53] This reveals the fact that the "national" financial source is the indispensable part of funds to promote this "subnational" diplomacy. These revenues of the Northern Forum, however, do not cover all the expenditures for its activities. The above-mentioned three regional governments, as an example, pay the salaries of their Regional Coordinators voluntarily, and the two subnational authorities offer facilities and staff to the Associate Offices on a voluntary basis. The important point to note here is that member governments with stronger leadership and higher economic status tend to bear the greater expense for the Northern Forum. In fiscal year 1994/95, Alaska's share in the total contributions to the Northern Forum Inc. was 30%, and that of the Hokkaido was 15%. [54]

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[49] S. Murai (Regional Coordinator despatched from GOH to the Northern Forum Secretariat), Personal Interview, 19-21 June 1995.

[50] Shropshire, Personal Interview, 14 September 1995.

[51] Northern Forum, The Second Board of Directors' Meeting Report: Rovaniemi, Finland, September 15-16, 1994, (Northern Forum Secretariat, 1994) 10-11.

According to the Northern Forum Bylaws, priority projects are to be introduced to the Northern Forum by official delegates, namely the Level Type I members, and the consensus of the voting members is necessary for priority projects to become official Northern Forum projects. At the First Board of Directors' Meeting, all the member regional governments agreed to join approved priority projects at either Level A (positive), Level B (general), or Level C (limited). [55] This classification has little to do with the actual practice of priority projects. The truth is that, once a member regional government proposes a priority project, the regional government is expected to bear most of the expense and other members follow its guidance. Under the leadership exercised by the proponent regional government, all the concerned member regional governments are to appoint Regional Coordinators for overall coordination of the project as well as Project Coordinators for specific coordination of the project, and they organize an international project committee to conduct the project. The proponent regional government is also to chair the international project committee. The number of priority projects amounted to fifteen in 1995, and their research areas included environmental protection, culture, banking and finance, education and research, transportation, trade and tourism, and sustainable development although some of them were dropped from priority projects at the Second General Assembly. Out of these priority projects, I will discuss two which were proposed by Hokkaido Prefecture of Japan since my purpose here is to demonstrate that a regional government in a non-federal country has been playing a positive role in subnational diplomacy. Both priority projects proposed by Hokkaido were approved by the Northern Forum at the inaugural Northern Forum Conference Meeting of November 1991. One is titled Environmental Research and Monitoring of the Atmosphere and Oceans, and the other Establishment of Guidelines for Wildlife Management.

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[52] The Northern Forum, The Northern Forum First General Assembly Report: Tromso, Norway, October 1-3, 1993 (Northern Forum Secretariat, 1993).

[53] Murai, Personal Interview, 19-21 June 1995.

[54] Northern Forum Secretariat, Interior Document. Obtained on 19 June 1995.

The duration of Environmental Research and Monitoring project which started in 1992, is four years, and it aims to develope an air and ocean research and monitoring network for the preservation of the common asset of the Northern Regions, that is the natural environment. [56] The Assistant Project Coordinator of Hokkaido gives the following reasons for the member regional governments to conduct this priority project. [57] First, pollutants from the highly industrialized lower latitude regions have recently been accumulating in the Northern Regions through the circulation of the atmosphere and the ocean current. Second, ecosystems in the Northern Regions are relatively simple and vulnerable to pollution since biological activities there are lower than in temperate regions. Third, the Northern Regions, which depend on various natural resources, have to utilize natural resources in sustainable ways. Lastly, as trans-boundary and world-wide environmental problems are first caused by various subnational sources, to take subnational measures jointly against the subnational emission sources is the best way to cope with global environmental problems. Based on these grounds, the Government of Hokkaido stresses that the Northern Forum members, which have a critical concern with these matters, should give the greatest priority to the project. Inter-regional government cooperation as well as inter-state cooperation is necessary to deal with such region-specific and trans-boundary environmental problems. The project also intends to influence UN organizations represented by the UNEP and contribute to the solution of global environmental problems in the future. [58]

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[55] GOH, The First Board of Directors' Meeting: A Summary (GOH, 1992). Interior document obtained in October 1992.

[56] GOH, The Northern Forum Priority Project Abstract (Draft) :Environmental Research and Monitoring (GOH, 1992).

To be more specific, this priority project aims at monitoring acid rain and harmful substances including heavy metals accumulated in organisms, and clarifying the advection of air pollutants. The original schedule of this project was as follows: the project committee draws up an environmental whitepaper containing data submitted by the member regional governments by 1993; research and monitoring plans are to be made by 1994; the member regional governments begin actual joint research and monitoring by 1995; and, between 1996 and 2000, the member regional governments establish a common research and monitoring guidelines and take necessary measures. For these purposes, the first stage of the project was dedicated to collect standardized and comparable environmental data in these specified areas in 1993. This was because there was no common standard for such environmental research and monitoring among the member government regions of the Northern Forum and a significant number of the members were lacking the basic environmental data themselves. The project employed questionnaire surveys to collect necessary environmental information to grasp the state of environment in every member regional government. This data collection was also conducted in close cooperation with existing international environmental programs such as the Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Program (AMAP) and the European Monitoring and Evaluation Program.

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[57] Northern Forum, The Second Board of Directors' Meeting Report: Rovaniemi, Finland, September 15-16, 1994, (Northern Forum Secretariat, 1994) 24-25.

[58] GOH, Environmental Research and Monitoring.

The Wildlife Management project is a four-year research project, and it started in 1992 as well.[59] The ultimate goal of this project is the establishment and implementation of a common guideline for wildlife management among the member regional governments of the Northern Forum to maintain biological diversity. The Hokkaido Government emphasizes that the Northern Regions, which are wildlife-rich regions where considerable numbers of endangered species live, have a responsibility to actively protect these species. The first stage of this research project was dedicated to identify common and shared species in the Northern Regions in 1993. The common species refer to those which the members have in common in their territories such as brown bears, and the shared ones mean those that migrate across the regional boundaries of the member regional governments like migratory birds. The rest of the stages of the project are similar to those of the Environmental Research and Monitoring project outlined above. Relevant data have been and more will be obtained also from the existing international environmental programs such as the AMAP and from environmental NGOs. The major expected outcomes from this project are three: first, to make it possible for the member regional governments to critically examine their wildlife management systems by reference to those employed by their counterparts; then, to establish trans-regional measures to protect wildlife in the

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[59] GOH, Wildlife Management.

Northern Forum member subnational units; lastly, to contribute to the protection of biodiversity at a global level.

It is essential to refer to the action taken in 1992 by Mr. Hickel, who was at that time the Governor of Alaska and the Chairman of the Northern Forum, at the UNCED held in Rio de Janeiro. [60] Although the action was the first involvement of the Northern Forum in any UN conference, it was, precisely speaking, not an official action approved by the Northern Forum as a whole. Mr. Hickel, as well as Secretary General Strong of the UNCED, was one of the six World Observers at the United Nations Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. Mr. Hickel, for this reason, was invited to UNCED as one of the seven personal guests of Mr. Strong. Mr. Hickel took this opportunity to give a lecture titled "the Environment of Hope: People, People's Needs and Nature" [61] at the Global Forum organized by environmental NGOs gathering from across the world in conjunction with the Earth Summit. Though Mr. Hickel delivered the speech not only as the Governor of Alaska but also as the Chairman of the Northern Forum, other member regional governments of the Northern Forum had not received any notice about it in advance. [62] Indeed the Northern Forum Charter provides that the Northern Forum will endeavor to be affiliated and recognized under the guidelines set forth by the UN as a non-governmental status organization. But it was not until 1993 that the Northern Forum was recognized as an official NGO by the UN and established formal relationships with some of UN organizations and programs such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the UNEP. [63]

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60 Inui, "New Dimensions," 33.

61 J. Hickel, The Environment of Hope: People, People's Needs and Nature. Note of the speech distributed at the Spirit of Stockholm to the Spirit of Rio de Janeiro Assembly held at the Earth Summit Global Forum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on June 2, 1992.

62 Northern Forum Secretariat (Executive Director), Letter to the Northern Forum Directors, 27 July 1992. Interior document obtained from GOH in October 1992.

Going back to the two priority projects of the Northern Forum, the first questionnaire was sent out by Hokkaido to each membe regional government in 1993 to collect the data necessary for both priority projects. In the same year, the First Project Committee Meeting was held in Hokkaido to discuss the progress of the two priority projects.[64] Eight of the Level I Northern Forum members participated in this Project Committee Meeting: Alaska, Chukotka, Dornod, Heilonjiang, Khabarovsk, Magadan, Regional Authority of Northern Norway, and Hokkaido. Two non-member local governments at that time - Primorsky and Sakhalin of Russia - were also invited to this meeting, reflecting Hokkaido's strong interests in these neighboring Russian subnational units. One NGO and a few Japan Environment Agency (a national agency of Japan) officials attended the meeting as observers. At the meeting, the ten regional governments exchanged data concerning environment monitoring and wildlife management which were acquired through Hokkaido's questionnaire survey. Part of the meeting was opened to the public. On this occasion, advisors to the Northern Forum gave public lectures concerning the vulnerable natural environment in the Northern Regions and increasing needs for the Northern Forum member regional governments to protect the fragile environment jointly.[65]

In March 1994, an interim report on the development of the two priority projects was compiled by the Hokkaido Government and distributed to Northern Forum members. The interim report contains environmental information that Hokkaido's questionnaires gathered

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[63] Shropshire, Personal Interview, 19 June 1995.

[64] GOH, Hokkaido Project Committee Meeting of the Northern Forum and Northern Regions' Environment and Wildlife Symposium Report: July 28-31, 1993, Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan (GOH, 1993).

[65] D. Segar and S. Cuccarese, "Global Environmental Challenges and the Role of the Northern Regions," GOH, Hokkaido Project Committee Report.

from members and non-members. [66] The following regional governments answered the questionnaire regarding the Environmental Monitoring project: Heilonjiang, Hokkaido, the Regional Authority of Northern Norway, Dornod, Magadan, Khabarovsk, Sakhalin, and Alaska. As to the Wildlife Management project, the respondent regions were: Yukon, Lapland, Heilonjiang, Hokkaido, South Trondelag, the Regional Authority of Northern Norway, Dornod, Magadan, Chukotka, Kamchatka, Khabarovsk, Jewish Territory, Nenets, Leningrad, Sakha, Komi, Sakhalin, Khanty Mansisk, Primorsky (Russia, non-member), Alaska, and the Republic of Korea (Member Level II).

Taking into account the twenty three members of the Northern Forum in 1994, the number of the respondents to the first questionnaire regarding the Environmental Monitoring project was significantly small. At the Second Board of Directors' Meeting held in Lapland in September 1994, [67] it was announced by the Assistant Regional Coordinator of Hokkaido to the Secretariat that a second questionnaire relating to both priority projects was addressed to all the members to supplement the answers to the first questionnaire and to obtain basic environmental data from the new and old members which had not responded to the first questionnaire. At the same time, it was approved by the Board members that the entire yearly schedule for the Environmental Research and Monitoring project should be postponed by one year.

In October of the same year, the Second Project Committee for Environmental Monitoring and Wildlife Management [68] was

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66 GOH, An Interim Report on the Northern Forum Projects "Environmental Research and Monitoring" and "Wildlife Management (GOH, 1994).

67 Northern Forum, The Second Board of Directors' Meeting Report, 23-25.

68 Northern Forum, The Minutes of the Second Project Committee for Environmental Monitoring & Wildlife Management (Northern Forum Secretariat, 1994).

convened in Sakhalin (Russia), attended by a handful of participants - Alaska, Vasterbotten, Heilongjiang, Sakha, Magadan, Kamchatka, Vladivostok (Russia, non-member), Sakhalin, and Hokkaido. As regards the Wildlife Management project, Hokkaido's proposal for the basic concept of the final survey report was approved by the participants. As to the Environmental Monitoring project, Hokkaido presented the first draft of a white paper on Environmental Monitoring to the Second Project Committee Meeting and accepted responsibility for finishing its final draft by March 1995. At the Meeting, Hokkaido also proposed that acid rain monitoring should become a concrete action plan of this project, and that the action plan, together with the final draft of the white paper, should be discussed in the Third Project Committee Meeting. At the Second Project Committee Meeting, the project committee frankly admitted that further environmental information from the member regional governments was necessary to prepare for the white paper and the action plan.

The priority projects took two years to collect basic environmental data from the Northern Forum members and to compare and summarize them. At the Third Project Committee Meeting, held in conjunction with the Second General Assembly in September 1995, both project committees presented to the members a two-volume white paper titled "Environmental Status Report of the Northern Region." [69] With sufficient data obtained from the members, the Wildlife Management Project Committee announced that it would prepare the guidelines on schedule. On the other hand, the progress of the Environmental Research and Monitoring project was poor. The number of the active participants in the project did not increase, due to which the environmental information necessary for the project has remained insufficient. Although the committee members adopted Hokkaido's proposal to make acid rain monitoring as a specific action plan, the research and monitoring of oceans, which is one of the two main topics of the project, has been untouched so far. To my knowledge, there are two seemingly contradictory official reasons that have been blocking the progress

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69 Northern Forum, The Environmental Status Report of the Northern Region, 2 vols. (GOH, 1995).

of the project. One is that scientists, especially in Russian subnational units, do not have an interest in the project which requires only well-established methods and simple equipment, and, therefore, does not bring them either state-of-the-art scientific information or the most advanced equipment. [70] The other is that the most Russian members do not have enough human resources, financial sources, and facilities to conduct the research and monitoring. [71] It seems to be most likely, however, that the members in Far East Russia, which is the least industrialized part of Russia, are giving priority to development than to environmental protection. A rather pessimistic view was expressed by an advisor to the Northern Forum even on the future of the Wildlife Management project. According to him, [72] it is doubtful if any guideline will be actually implemented in the member regions although setting up such a guideline is not a difficult task.

Apart from the priority projects, the Northern Forum as a whole has been in a financial and political crisis since 1994. Yukon in Canada, and Leningrad, Khabarovsk and Jewish Autonomous Region in Far East Russia were dropped from the Northern Forum by the Second General Assembly due to the nonpayment of the membership contributions for two fiscal years in a row. [73] The Northern Forum has also lost its two founding and leading member governors - Alaska Governor Hickel, a Republican, and Hokkaido Governor Yokomichi. By the end of 1994, both governors announced that they would not seek a next term. Former Mayor Tony

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[70] Murai, Personal Interview, 21 June 1995.

[71] M. Manabe (Executive Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, GOH), Personal Interview, 12 September 1995.

[72] H. Isozaki, Personal Interview, 12 September 1995.

[73] Northern Forum Secretariat, Interior Document, Obtained by fax on 4 August 1995.

Knowles of Anchorage, a Democrat, took office in the same year. Turning to Hokkaido, incumbent Vice Governor Hori was elected as new Hokkaido Governor in April 1995, and has been supporting Hokkaido's contributions to the Northern Forum. In Alaska, however, the baton was not successfully handed over from Mr. Hickel to Governor Knowles partly because of their different political affiliations. Another and more likely ground for this political crisis in Alaska is the strong personal tie between Mr. Hickel and the Northern Forum. The personal influence of the former Alaska Governor Hickel on the Northern Forum, in a sense, made possible Alaska's leading role in the organization.

Aiming at overcoming the crisis, Executive Director Shropshire of the Northern Forum Inc., who was assigned to the post by Mr. Hickel, decided to resign immediately after the Second General Assembly, to dissipate the impression of the personal connection between Mr. Hickel and the Northern Forum. [74] Then, at the Third Board of Directors' Meeting convened in conjunction with the Second General Assembly, the Board appointed S. Cowper, a Democrat, who was the Governor of Alaska between 1986 and 1990, to the position of interim President and Executive Director of the Northern Forum Inc. and an Alaska Government official, W. Hensley, to that of Vice President. [75] Third, the Board, at the same time, created one more Vice Chairman position, adding to the original two positions, and assigned the post to Governor Knowles since he did not make up his mind to take the Chairman position by the Second General Assembly. [76] An official reason for the creation of the third

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[74] Murai, Personal Fax Letter to the Author, Obtained on 4 August 1995.

[75] Northern Forum Secretariat, The Northern Forum Resolutions #29 & 30. Distributed at the Second General Assembly on 13 September 1995.

[76] Northern Forum Secretariat, The Northern Forum Resolution #27. Distributed at the Second General Assembly on 13 September 1995.

Vice Chairman is that, as Alberta joined the Northern Forum in 1994 and increased the importance of the North American group in the organization, there was a need to adjust the balance between the Asian, North American, Russian and Scandinavian regional groups in the Executive Committee. [77] Yet, it seems to me that the main two purposes of all these efforts were to arouse the interest of Governor Knowles, who did not attend the Second General Assembly, of the Northern Forum with Mr. Hickel remaining as Secretary General. It is not certain, however, that these attempts will lead Governor Knowles, who abolished Alaska's Office of International Trade and based his political appeal on return to basic regional issues, to future Alaska involvement in the transnational organization. Though the 1995/96 budget of the Northern Forum is not officially opened to the public as of October 1995, it is assumed that the share of Alaska and Hokkaido in the total budget of the Northern Forum this fiscal year decreases to 40%. [78] It is also likely that Governor Knowles will appropriate only $75,000 in Alaska's budget for the Northern Forum, most of which is to be spent to hire Mr. Cowper as the interim President and Executive Director for six months. [79] It is probable that Alaska will refrain from acting as a leading member of the Northern Forum for the time being.

In spite of these financial and political problems, the Third Board of Directors' Meeting elected Khanty Mansyisk Autonomous Okrug (Russia) as the host of the Fourth (1996), Sakha Republic (Russia) as that of the Third General Assembly (1997), and the County of Vasterbotten (Sweden) as that of the Fourth General Assembly (1999). During the Second General Assembly, the Sakha Republic of Russia was the most positive Northern Forum member. By an agreement between Moscow and Sakha in 1992, Sakha was promoted to a Republic which has the highest autonomy among the other categories of the subnational units in the C.I.S. such as Oblast, Krai, and Autonomous Okrug. President Nikolayev of the Sakha Republic, which is one of the resource-richest subnational units in Far East Russia, arrived in Hokkaido by his presidential jet plane to attend the Second General Assembly, accompanied by nearly 100 officials and other staff from the Republic. At the General Assembly, President Nikolayev as the Vice Chairman explained that, for Sakha to host the Third General Assembly, as many officials as possible of the Republic had to learn skills to convene the international conference successfully. Though there has always been a rumor that President Nikolayev would seek the independence of the Sakha Republic from the C. I. S., the President has sharply denied such a separatist stance. [80] This is important because the Tromso Declaration clearly states, "The Northern Forum recognizes that its members are an integral part of our national governments and we are proud of their national heritage and citizenship." [81] It seems to me that President Nikolayev views the Northern Forum as one of few chances to impress his international presence upon the voters back in home and to possibly promote his Republic's exports to these Northern Forum members.

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[77] Murai, Personal Interview, 14 September 1995.

[78] T. Masuda (Deputy Director, Northern Regions Research Office, GOH), Personal Interview, 20 September 1995.

[79] Murai, Personal Interview, 14 September 1995.

The Hokkaido Declaration drafted and adopted by the participants of the Second General Assembly stresses that the Northern Forum will enhance its relationships with other international organizations such as the UN and the Arctic Council in order to "strengthen the independence of the Northern Forum as an international organization." [82] The Northern Forum invited Mr. Olembo, the

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[80] M. Nikolayev, Jiyu to Ningen no Sentaku [The Freedom and the Human Choice], Japanese Translation, Trans. T. Sato (Tokyo: Sogensha, 1994).

[81] Northern Forum Secretariat, The First General Assembly Report.

[82] Northern Forum, Hokkaido Declaration. Distributed at the Second General Assembly on 14 September 1995.

Deputy Executive Director of the UNEP, to its Second General Assembly. According to Mr. Olembo, [83] the UNEP finds a lot more potential in the Northern Forum than in other private NGOs, considering that the Northern Forum is an international NGO organized by regional governments. He adds, however, that UN organizations are currently not able to offer special treatment to the Northern Forum even through the organization is composed of regional authorities. At the Second General Assembly, the Northern Forum members, adopting a motion made by the President of Sakha, resolved that the Northern Forum should send a telegram to the U.N. in order to celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. The following three points must be recalled here: environmental cooperation through the Northern Regions Conference was inspired by the UN Conference on Human Environment (1972); the Northern Forum Charter provides that the Northern Forum will promote its environmental projects in collaboration with the UN, and UN organizations and programs such as UNEP and UNDP; Mr. Hickel, who presently serves as the Secretary General of the Northern Forum, was invited to the UN Conference on Human Environment as a World Observer and to the UNCED as a personal guest of UNCED Secretary General Strong. These ties between the UN and the Northern Forum can not be overemphasized.

The Hokkaido Declaration expresses the view that the Northern Forum should and will search for financial support from private funds, international organizations as well as national governments through enhancing cooperation with them. [84] At a press conference held at the end of the Second General Assembly, Chairman Erikson pointed to the lack of funds and technical communication difficulty among the member regions as the two main barriers against the progress of the Northern Forum. Secretary General Hickel mentioned, at the press conference, that the Northern Forum and the U.N. had some problems in common such as cultural diversity, and different economic levels and polities among their members, and asked the member regional governments to create an identity as the members of a single international organization, the

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[83] R. J. Olembo, Personal Interview, 12 September 1995.

[84] Northern Forum, Hokkaido Declaration.

Northern Forum. During the press conference, a question was asked of the Chairman by the press which doubted the capacity of the Northern Forum to make up an environmental policy unit in the Northern Regions as a whole based on the grounds that a number of Northern Regions were outside the organization. The Chairman, responding to the question, stated that the Northern Forum members had already realized the necessity of gaining more member regions, and that, therefore, the present Northern Forum members had to demonstrate good performance by this unique organization to the other Northern Region governments.

Chapter 3 CONCLUSION

Section 1 The Northern Regions Movement (NRM): Summary

The Northern Regions Movement (NRM) was originally initiated by the Sapporo City Office and the Hokkaido Prefectural Government of Japan during the seventies and the early eighties. The original aim of this unique subnational diplomacy was the improvement of winter life in the Northern Regions located in high latitudes with significant winter seasons. In the early seventies, the Province of Alberta (Canada), the Province of Heilongiang (China), and the Prefecture of Hokkaido concluded a triangle sister province affiliation, which contributed much to the promotion of the regional-government oriented Northern Regions Conferences (NRC). Sapporo City organized the Northern Inter-city Conference Committee (NICC), in particular, with the City of Edmonton and the City of Harbin in order to convene the Northern Inter-city Conferences (NIC). NRC and NIC provided Northern mayors and governors with fora to foster transnational environmental cooperation among them on an ad-hoc basis. In the nineties, the Northern regional governments and cities introduced fixed membership into their conferences and set up permanent transnational bodies named the Northern Forum and the International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC). The Northern Forum and IAMNC have been encouraging transnational environmental policy cooperation among the Northern regional governments and cities on the above discussed region-specific environmental issues.

The subnational diplomatic practice discussed above is a unique phenomenon. First, in this thesis, I focused on the environmental cooperation among many other issue areas which NRM has been dealing with. A reason for my concentration on this particular issue area is that, according to the Charters of the Northern Forum and IAMNC, transnational environmental policy collaboration among subnational units in the Northern Region (a collection of the individual Northern Regions) has been and will be a central agenda of this subnational diplomacy. The logic which the Northern Forum and IAMNC employ to carry on NRM is that the Northern Region is an ideal environmental policy unit to cope with region specific environmental problems. Indeed much of the environmental problems emerge regionally first and then spread globally across national borders. Considering that the modern nation-state, as an artifact, does not match natural environmental boundaries of climatic zones, wildlife habitats, and snowfall patterns, the Northern Region is closer to these natural environmental boundaries than a country-to-country international policy framework. Winter road management, wildlife protection, and environmental monitoring are broad regional issues, not country specific ones. In case the subnational elites in the Northern Region are better informed about and are equipped with greater expertise on these regional and transnational environmental issues than their national counterparts, the Northern Region is logically capable of functioning as an alternative environmental policy unit that crosses over national boundaries but does not cover the entire globe.

As it was illustrated in the second chapter, however, transnational subnational environmental cooperation among the Northern Forum and IAMNC members is still at an experimental stage. The Wildlife Management and the Environmental Monitoring projects of the Northern Forum have so far gathered environmental information and data, but they have not yet redirected the actual environmental policy of each member regional government. Going to NIC and IAMNC, they have implemented some winter road management policy recommendations. In the case of Sapporo City, what is called the studded tire problem has been resolved by the city's studded tire ban act. On the other hand, the ban caused increasing traffic accidents in wintertime due to slick road surfaces. So, at the same time, the ban induces a new environmental problem because of the redoubled use of pollution-causing de-icing agent to secure safe wintertime road conditions without studded tires. In addition, it is not always the case that the subnational elites in the Northern Region have a keener interest and deeper knowledge in such region-specific environmental problems than their national counterparts. For instance, as I have mentioned in the second chapter, IAMNC frankly admits that the funds as well as research and development capacity of the organization is quite limited. Many of the regional government officers, with whom I had interviews, confess that they are not really well informed about these environmental issues.

NRM has been double-tracked subnational diplomacy, with the exception of the First Northern Regions Conference (NRC). The transnational activity has been conducted, on one hand, by city-oriented NIC and IAMNC, and the regional-government led Northern Regions Conference (NRC) and Northern Forum on the other. On this point, Soldatos [1] gives some fresh insights into the pioneering work of Duchacek who concentrates on the possible relationships between national and subnational diplomacies. Soldatos adds one more dimension to subnational diplomacy that is found between "urban (cities)" and "local (regional governments)" subnational diplomacies and calls for their unification. It is, however, probable that the double-tracked conduct of NRM will be maintained. One of the participants in the Sixth NIC proposed to establish official cooperation between IAMNC and the Northern Forum. But the proposal was rejected by other IAMNC members for the reason that the Northern Forum wished to maintain its identity as an organization of regional governments. [2] A close look at the agenda discussed at a series of NICs reveals that NIC has been focusing on "urban" environmental issues. The studded-tire problem seems to be an intersecting point which connects the two tracks. Sapporo City made soundings a few years ago to see if the Hokkaido Government would tackle the environmental problem jointly, but the effort ended in vain without a clear reasons being given. [3] In the case of Edmonton and Alberta, the difference in the political affiliation of mayors and premiers is a likely cause for the urban and regional separation of subnational diplomacy. [4] In addition, it seems to me that the political and jurisdictional rivalry between city offices and regional governments is one more likely reason for the double-tracked conduct of the subnational diplomacy.

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[1] Soldatos, "Cascading Subnational Paradiplomacy in an Interdependent and Transnational World," 55-57.

A third area of discussion is the institutionalization of NRM. IAMNC and the Northern Forum are two standing transnational bodies which were made up in response to the development of the subnational diplomatic practice. Both organizations recently adopted some of the procedures and systems employed by various inter-state organizations. The fixed membership and proportional membership fee systems, the boards of directors and general assembly bodies, and regional and issue grouping are among them. In other words, NRM has been emulating national diplomacy through copying the principal organizational structures and rules of major international organizations. As the result of such institutionalization, both organizations have come to include subnational units in developed and developing, and adjacent and remote countries even with different polities in their fixed members. Mainly due to this asymmetric member composition, both transnational standing bodies now confront the North-South as well as East-West problems from which current international organizations, especially the UN, has been suffering. This is especially the case of the Northern Forum with a greater asymmetry among the members.

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[2] International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities, The 6th Northern Intercities Conference Report, 122.

[3] Yamamoto. Personal Interview. 20 September 1995.

[4] J. Lejnieks. Personal Interview. 17 August 1995.

Fourth, it is noteworthy that not only subnational authorities but also such other actors as enterprises, businessmen, retired public servants, and volunteers are also playing important roles in the subnational diplomacy. In particular there is the involvement of several corporate entities in NRM, and they bring into relief the quasi-public nature of subnational diplomacy in the international scene. The instances of these corporate entities are the Northern Regions Center (NRC), the Edmonton Winter Cities Conference Corporation dissolved in 1988, the 1992 Winter Cities Montreal Foundation (WCM) terminated immediately after the Fifth NIC, and the Northern Forum Inc. It is highly probable that IAMNC as well will sooner or later take the form of a corporation. Grounds for setting up corporations for subnational diplomacy are not really clear, meanwhile there are some official ones that the Northern Region subnational authorities provide. First, a corporate form is suitable for tax purposes, the recruitment of private funds as well as personnel from business circles, and obtaining support from volunteers. All of these aim at minimizing subnational expenditures on diplomatic activities. More positively, second, the benefit to local convention-related businesses is one of the strongest motives for NRM participants to establish corporate entities. It is not too much to say that the most participant subnational authorities in NRM use the NICs and the Northern Forum General Assemblies and Board of Directors Meetings as excellent opportunities to financially benefit their local convention halls, auditoria, hotels, shops, and leisure facilities such as golf courses. Third, the Northern Forum Charter states that its Secretariat, as a corporate entity, ensures the independence of the entire activities of the Northern Forum from its member regional governments. Indeed, this high autonomy given to the Secretariat accelerated and promoted the Northern Forum's decision-making processes and joint projects in a short period of time. Rapid progress in the Northern Forum's institutionalization and priority projects should clearly be attributed to the

Secretariat which was highly independent from the member regional governments. The advantage of the non-regional governmental Secretariat becomes obvious when it is compared with the slow handling and poor organization of the Northern Regions Conferences by the Hokkaido Government.

While these three official reasons are plausible, in light of my personal observations, however, there are other hidden grounds for creating corporate entities for promoting NRM. In the case of the Northern Regions Center (NRC) located in Sapporo City, it has acted as a cushion to avoid direct conflict between the Government of Hokkaido and the Japanese Central Government in a sensitive issue area. To be more specific, the security and sovereignty related issue area in the territorial dispute about the Northern Islands over which Japan and Russia (the former U.S.S.R.) have been claiming sovereignty. It was extremely difficult for the Hokkaido Government to convene international conferences attended by Russian or Soviet participants during the Cold War especially in the seventies. The second and more practical reason for establishing NRC is the creation of posts for retired public servants. Setting up corporate entities or "the third sectors" in order to absorb those who retire from public service is a common and problematic phenomenon not only at a subnational but also the national level in Japan. In terms of the Northern Forum, it is probable that the former Governor Hickel of Alaska formed the Northern Forum Secretariat as a corporate entity in order to enhance his personal control over the organization. In addition, making one of his intimates as its Executive Director strengthened his private influence over the Northern Forum. As the Former Director was not an officer of the Alaska Government, there were few formal ties between the Northern Forum and the State of Alaska as well as Alaskan citizens. Such a strong personal initiative from the former Governor and Executive Director was required and appreciated by the other Northern Forum members in the initiation of the novel attempt. But the other side of the coin is that their personal commitment to the Northern Forum has weakened the interest of Alaskan citizens in the Northern Forum. It also caused uneasy relationships between the organization and other member regional government officials recently.

Section 2 The Perforated Sovereignties Model Reconsidered

One of the objective of this study is to inquire into the validity of the perforated sovereignties model when it is applied to the analysis of NRM.

A fundamental problem of the driving forces is that the model is built exclusively upon the diplomatic practices of subnational entities within "federal" and highly industrialized states. This model takes federalism in democratic and advanced industrial countries as a natural cause of subnational diplomacy. Elazar mentions, "some forty percent of the world population live within systems that explicitly claim to be federal," adding that "there are de facto federalist states such as Belgium and Spain which apply federal principles and arrangements without formal declaration." [5] As P. Soldatos puts it, " . . . especially in advanced industrial societies of the federal kind, we witness a more pronounced process of erosion of the sovereign state government's prerogatives in foreign relations [than non-federal states]." [6]

On the other hand, Duchacek points to the authoritarian uses of subnational diplomatic autonomies for the purpose of national policy. [7] The two good examples are the Peoples Republic of China and the former Soviet Union. Although the Beijing government

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[5] Elazar, xx-xxi.

[6] P. Soldatos, "An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign-policy Actors," H. Michelmann and P. Soldatos, eds., Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 34.

[7] Duchacek, Toward a Typology of New Subnational Governmental Actors, 3-5.

insists that China is a unitary or non-federal state, Beijing leadershave allowed the special economic zones and a dozen provinces to conduct some degree of "free" contacts with the external world for China's national purpose of attracting foreign investment and promoting trade. Today, Chinese subnational units are enjoying a significant level of diplomatic autonomy. Next, the former U.S.S.R. as a formally federal state, under the 1936 Stalin and 1977 Brezhnev Constitutions, granted international status to its fifteen Republics, including U.N. membership to Ukraine and Byelorussia. Duchacek concludes that countries with such subnational autonomies under a single-party rule are "pseudo-federations" since no segment of the polity may have been or may be endowed with any degree of decisional autonomy. [8]

It follows from what has been said that, according to the proponents of the model, federalist countries with highly industrialized economies and multi-party political systems are likely to fuel truly autonomous subnational diplomacy. More specifically speaking, they argue that subnational entities in federal states are blessed with more political autonomies than those in centralist states, and for this reason, that the imperatives of global and regional interdependence are likely to affect the former more strongly than the latter. The foregoing argument is widely accepted.

But, questions arise concerning this assumption. First, such an assumption has produced an orientation of subnational foreign policy studies that directs exclusive attention to the diplomatic practices of subnational entities in implicit and explicit federalist states with symmetrical political-economic structures. In other words, they argue that subnational diplomacy is a by-product of highly industrialized economies and pluralist democracies. This orientation distorts the reality of subnational diplomacy. As it has been demonstrated in the second chapter, the subnational units of the countries with centralist and federalist, industrializing and industrialized as well as market and planned economies, and democratic and "non-democratic" polities have joined NRM. Thus, the

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[8] Duchacek, Perforated Sovereignties, 3-5.

Northern Forum is in sharp contrast to a subnational diplomacy between symmetrical subnational units such as that between U.S. states and Canadian provinces and that among West European subnational authorities on which the perforated sovereignties model focuses.

In the second place, according to N. Hansen, subnational entities in "centralist" France and Mexico are promoting a significant degree of subnational diplomacy.[9] He argues that, in spite of both countries' long tradition of highly centralized government, populations in French and Mexican border regions, which are distant from their national capitals, have close transborder cooperation between the adjacent nations in cultural and economic issue areas. Nonetheless, France today should no longer be regarded as a centralist state based on the grounds that the country has signed the Outline Convention on Transfrontier Cooperation between Territorial Communities and Authorities although the country hesitated to join the Convention for a long time and finally signed it last of all the member states.[10] The Convention came into effect in 1981 and has approved the various steps and procedures for closer transborder cooperation among neighboring non-central authorities. E. Fry refers to transborder contact between subnational units in Northern Mexico and the Southern U.S. though he does not go into the depth of their subnational diplomatic practices.[11]

The third of the problems is that drawing a clear dividing line between implicit federalist and centralist states is not a simple undertaking at all. Japan is an intriguing and complicated example in this sense. According to H. Otsu, [12] a Japanese constitutional scholar, the articles of the Japanese Constitution concerning local self-government (Appendix 3) suggest that Japan is an "implicit" federal state. The term 'diplomacy," however, is not found neither in these articles nor in any other Japanese laws concerning local self-government. Leaving juridical matters and going to the diplomatic practices undertaken by Japanese subnational units, the budgets which Japanese subnational authorities spent for their international exchanges amounted to nearly $100 billion in fiscal year 1994 alone (as of December 1994). [13] This means that the annual disbursement of Japanese subnational units for their diplomacy increased by a factor of four during the six years between 1988 and 1994. This indicates that subnational diplomacy has mushroomed among Japanese subnational units in recent years and that subnational diplomacy has already become an ordinary part of political life in Japan.

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[9] N. Hansen, "Regional Transboundary Cooperation Efforts in Centralist States: Conflicts and Responses in France and Mexico," PUBLIUS 14 (1984) 137-152.

[10] Duchacek, Perforated Sovereignties, 23.

[11] E. Fry, "Trans-Sovereign Relations of the American States," Duchacek, Latouche, and Stevenson, 63.

In sharp contrast, Otsu argues that the Japanese government has not yet fully appreciated subnational "diplomacy" and has been encouraging the subnational public entities to limit the range of their "international exchanges" to cultural and economic issues. [14] The Domestic Affairs Division of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently been providing information and help for subnational units' international exchanges. Yet, the Chief of the Division clearly states that diplomacy is the task of the Japanese central government. [15] Japanese subnational authorities themselves have shown a contradictory view on their role in subnational diplomacy. A report submitted to the Japanese centralgovernment by six organizations representing Japanese subnational authorities in September 1994 puts diplomacy on the top in the list of the duties which, Japanese subnational leaders think, should belong to the national government. [16] It is also the case that more than the half of the present governors in Japan have careers as high-ranking officials at the national ministries and agencies. [17] This is one of factors that strengthen the control of the Japanese central government over Japanese prefectures.

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[12] H. Otsu, "Kenpogaku kara mita jichitai gaiko-ron (Subnational Diplomacy and the Japanese Constitution)," Heiwa Kenkyu (Peace Studies) 17 (Tokyo: The Japan Peace Studies Association) 6-15.

[13] Asahi Shinbun Newspaper (Japanese), 22 December 1994.

[14] Otsu, "Kenpogaku."

[15] Asahi Shinbun Newspaper (Japanese), 22 December 1994.

Considering these points, it seems reasonable to argue that Japan today is to be classified into a gray zone which is located somewhere between an implicit federalist and centralist state. It is a hard task to sharply define Japan either as a centralist or implicit federalist country, so that this topic itself deserves to be discussed in another thesis. It is, however, generally agreed that Japan used to be a typical centralist state with de facto single-party rule during the seventies and eighties when NRM was inaugurated. Discussing Japanese subnational authorities' diplomacy as a whole is beyond the scope of this brief thesis. My goal, instead, is to offer evidence that NRM did not need a federalist motor to pursue subnational diplomacy. Accordingly, the view that federalism as a domestic political factor is to be automatically reflected in the pluralistic conduct of diplomacy is quite unsatisfactory. For all this, it is fair to say that Japan has been one of the highly industrialized countries since the seventies. As far as NRM is concerned, affluent subnational units have been exercising leadership in the subnational diplomacy area. Therefore, it may be a valid assumption that subnational authorities in advanced industrial countries tend to initiate subnational diplomacy first and that interdependence among these economically symmetrical subnational units actively promote it. Nonetheless, this assumption is not valid when environmental issues are concerned simply because environmental problems occur with scant regard to

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[16] Hokkaido Shinbun Newspaper (Japanese), 7 September 1994.

[17] Hokkaido Shinbun Newspaper (Japanese), 2 February 1995.

Economic standards. Developing countries, in many cases, are major sources of pollution and other sorts of environmental destruction. In addition, what makes a difference here is if a given subnational unit has a sufficient budget to carry out diplomatic activities, not whether the subnational authority belongs to an advanced industrial "country." The positive role played by Sakha, a natural-resource-rich Republic of Russia, in the Northern Forum is a good instance of a wealthy subnational unit in an unprosperous country. Also, even regional governments and cities in highly industrialized, federalist, and democratic countries do drop some of their diplomatic activities for economic reasons. Alberta has been ambivalent towards the Northern Forum for fiscal reasons. The withdrawal of Montreal from IAMNC and the present passive attitude of Alaska towards the Northern Forum demonstrate this case.

Among other reasons, the following four practical motors of subnational diplomacy, which the perforated sovereignties model presents, look more likely than the above-mentioned official ones in light of my observations on NRM. First, the frustration of subnational leaders and their publics which is induced by their over-bureaucratized central governments with poor concern for regional and municipal matters. The second of such practical driving forces is subnational elites' opposition to their central governments' monopoly of diplomacy in the fields that have more significance for subnational units. These two motors can be combined into one concept, namely "localism." An interesting aspect of NRM is that the most participants are located on the peripheries of their countries which are physically and psychologically remote from their national centers. The other two practical incentives which cause subnational diplomacy are "me-tooism" and the personal ambitions of subnational leaders. The "me-tooism" refers to subnational elites' emulation of the diplomatic success of other subnational units. It is also highly probable that subnational authorities copy "national" diplomacy as well in order to enjoy diplomatic treatment which is otherwise received solely by national representatives. By doing so, subnational elites may wish to have their domestic as well asinternational status elevated. Nonetheless, it is not certain that subnational diplomacy has such an expected political effect. As far as NRM is concerned, it is obvious that such behind the scenes psychological and personal factors move subnational leaders toward subnational diplomacy more strongly than the official motives mentioned above. There is room for further investigation on these hidden incentives for subnational leaders' entry into diplomacy.

There may be other driving forces, but let me now attempt to extend this inquiry into the typology of subnational diplomacy that the perforated sovereignties model displays. The first of the typology is "transborder regional paradiplomacy" between contiguous subnational units, and the second is "transregional paradiplomacy" between subnational entities which are not adjacent but their national governments are. The third category is "global paradiplomacy" among subnational units in "distant" nations. NRM does not suit any one of the categories because it involves all the three types. NRM has a unique regional framework called the Northern Region which is almost irrelevant to national boundaries. Although Duchacek does not make it clear why he has made up such a typology, the typology itself reveals the following two points. First, the typology appears to have been created at the initial stages of subnational diplomacy which was not so well institutionalized as it is today. Indeed the typology is useful when our concern is directed towards how an individual subnational actor initiates diplomatic practices. However, the typology is meaningless when it is applied to the analysis of matured and well institutionalized subnational diplomacy such as NRM with IAMNC and the Northern Forum which have as their members both adjacent and remote subnational units. In the second place, what matters in this typology is "distance" between subnational diplomatic partners. At a glance, distance becomes meaningless in this shrinking world where most subnational units are globally bound together by rapid transportation and communication. This is, however, a debatable point when it comes to environmental issue areas. Distance is a critical factor at least in transnational environmental cooperation, for instance, in environmental monitoring and wildlife management. I do not have enough information to be able to say to what extent distance affects the promotion of subnational diplomacy in other issue areas. The typology, however, is open to the following three criticisms: first, the typology does not suppose the institutionalization of subnational diplomacy, but it is designed to watch in what order individual subnational units embark on diplomacy; next, the typology lacks an issue-by-issue approach although it is likely that the evolution of subnational diplomacy takes various forms in different issue areas; finally, in spite of the fact that distance counts for something in the typology of subnational diplomacy, the typology does not concentrate on distance between subnational units, but considers that between subnational and national actors at the same time without any explanation for how these two sorts of distance are related. All these shortcomings of the typology derive from a fundamental deficiency of an approach which the model employs, which I discuss later.

Finally, I examine the last component of the perforated sovereignties model, that is future scenarios of subnational diplomacy. To review, Duchacek's four scenarios outlined in the first chapter are: first, "secessionist" fragmentation; second, tight centralization; third, combinative foreign policy; fourth, cooperative/competitive segmentation. Duchacek is right in classifying the first scenario, associated with separatism, as "protodiplomacy" which is distinguished from the other three. The point here is that separatist subnational units act as independent states in the international scene, not as subnational entities. It is better to say that protodiplomacy is not within the boundary of subnational diplomacy studies since it is a prototype or embryo of "national" diplomacy. Taking the example of Quebec, it does not open any new horizons in subnational diplomacy studies. It instead provides for us another instance of national diplomacy even if the protodiplomacy of Quebec has facilitated the entry of other Canadian provinces into subnational diplomacy. It may also be possible to argue that protodiplomacy constitutes a special area of foreign policy studies even though the actual cases of protodiplomacy are quite few.

In terms of the second scenario, there has not been a country since the seventies that has implemented re-centralization of diplomacy. Thus, it is likely that the future of subnational diplomacy will match either the third or forth scenarios, namely "combinative foreign policy" or "cooperative/competitive segmentation." Before concluding, however, it must be noted that what the perforated sovereignties model provides for us is, in fact, not the future scenarios of subnational diplomacy itself, but the possible forms of interaction between subnational and national diplomacies. Viewing the future of subnational diplomacy from more than that particular angle, various other scenarios can be drawn based on the lessons from NRM. First, the emergence of region-specific transnational issue areas through this subnational diplomacy although it is too early to say that NRM has created a transnational regional policy "unit." Next, NRM also makes it possible to discuss diplomacy between transnational organizations as corporate entities, formed by subnational units, and international organizations such as the U.N. This has led to corporate entities' debut in the international arena as NGOs. Third is the future of the double-tracked conduct of inter-city and inter-regional government subnational diplomacies. Lastly, there are the decreasing public budgets that can affect subnational diplomacy.

Keeping all these points in mind, the perforated sovereignties model can be best summarized in the following way. The model is build upon observation on the individual diplomatic practices conducted exclusively by subnational units in economically and politically symmetric North America and Western Europe during the dawning era of subnational diplomacy. The model does not touch subnational diplomacy per se, but it aims to consider possible effects of subnational diplomatic activities on national diplomacy. For these reasons, the model loses much of its validly when it is applied to current well-institutionalized subnational diplomatic practices with broad agendas which are promoted by asymmetric subnational units outside North America and Western Europe.

Subnational diplomacy is today a normal aspect of international relations in "daily bread" issue areas. Considering public funds, personnel, organizations, and information which are dedicated to subnational diplomatic undertakings, the significance of this research area should not be underestimated in international relations studies. Viewed in this light, the perforated sovereignties model can be regarded as the first successful attempt to open up a research area on this topic. The lessons from NRM, however, make it obvious that the validity of the model is limited to the analysis of subnational diplomacy in a specific period of time and geographic scope. It seems to me that, for the future of subnational diplomacy studies, at least the following two processes, which the perforated sovereignties model lacks, must be considered more carefully: one is the performance assessment of subnational diplomacy, and the other is popular support for subnational diplomatic activities.

Unfortunately, assessing the performance of subnational diplomacy is not at all easy especially in the environmental issue area. The winter road management project of IAMNC, and the wildlife protection and environmental monitoring projects of the Northern Forum are good examples. The assessment of environmental policy demands long-term observation. Searching for the way to evaluate the performance of subnational diplomacy in the environmental issue area remains beyond the scope of the present discussion.

Turning now to popular support for subnational diplomacy, the problem is a lack of public opinion polls concerning this topic. In this respect, J. Kincaid offers an intriguing case.[18] The national poll commissioned by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) and conducted by the Gallup Organization in 1988 found the American public not to be positive, but rather to be negative, on the value of funding subnational diplomacy. As to foreign offices and travel by states, about 41% of the respondents said the offices and travel were a poor or not very good use of public funds, while almost 49% said they were a somewhat or very good use . When it comes to foreign policy resolutions passed by city councils (although this is not what I mean by the term "subnational diplomacy"), the majority of the respondents (57.6% [sic] *) did not regard such resolutions as proper. The result of the poll itself does not identify reasons for such negative attitudes among American citizens toward subnational diplomacy. In sharp contrast, 62% of the respondents in Sapporo City and Hokkaido Prefecture answered that NRM had positive effects on the improvement of winter life.[19] A problem isthat the only public opinion poll concerning this subnational diplomacy was conducted in 1981. Well-planned public opinion surveys should be an indispensable part of subnational diplomacy studies, considering that public support is the ultimate foundation upon which subnational diplomacy should be built. Conducting such surveys remains as a future objective of my studies.

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* In may calculation, the percentage becomes "58.6."

[18] J. Kincaid, "Rain Clouds Over Municipal Diplomacy: Dimensions and Possible Sources of Negative Public Opinion," E. Fry, L. Radebaugh, and P. Soldatos, eds., The New International Cities Era: The Global Activities of North American Municipal Governments (David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, Brigham Young University, 1989) 223-249.

[19] Northern Regions Center (NRC), Hoppoken Koryu ni kansuru Seron Chosa (A Public Opinion Poll Report concerning NRM) [Japanese] (NRC, Sapporo, Japan: 1981).

It is not an overstatement that Duchacek finds the most important meaning of his work in the democratization effects of subnational diplomacy which challenge the central-governments' near monopoly of diplomacy. [20] In this limited sense, subnational diplomacy has doubtlessly contributed to the democratization of diplomacy and made the diplomatic messages from subnational elites heard by national governments. Nonetheless, Duchacek's view of the democratic effects of diplomacy is parochial from my point of view. I believe that the democratic diplomacy is realized by enhancing the social control of voters and taxpayers over national as well as subnational diplomatic activities as long as diplomacy is fed by public financial sources for the purpose of promoting social welfare. Leaving diplomacy to subnational elites is to create another category of undemocratic form of diplomacy at a subnational level. Taking into account the highly personal handling of subnational diplomacy by governors and mayors, there is the danger that subnational diplomacy is only a tool to fulfil their political ambition. Information concerning most subnational diplomatic practices is largely in the hand of subnational elites. NICs and the Northern Forum General Assemblies and Board of Directors' Meetings have been closed to the public except the press. Meanwhile, the Winter Cities Showcases, organized together with NICs, have been functioning as a bridge that narrows the gap between NICs and the Northern cities citizens. The Northern Forum, too, presented for the first time special festivals and expositions during its Second General Assembly to inform Hokkaidoites of the Northern Forum's joint projects and member regions.

Despite such minor efforts of IAMNC and the Northern Forum, most subnational diplomatic practices in fact have not been reported sufficiently to researchers and citizens. Accordingly, the foremost goal of this thesis is to provide subnational diplomacy studies with some information on the reality of subnational diplomatic practices in regions outside North America and Western Europe where a considerable number of studies have been made. Beyond my original program, however, it seems to me that the lessons from environmental cooperation through NRM reveal a couple of general characteristics which are applicable to other cases of subnational diplomacy. For one thing, subnational diplomacy is, in large measure, a product of the balance of power between national governments and subnational authorities. Central to this issue is the affluence of subnational units as well as subnational leaders' diplomatic leadership or political ambition which is exercised in proportion to the size of their budgets. What is more, transboundary region-specific environmental issues constitute an ideal agenda for subnational diplomacy to which central governments have not been paying proper attention. The expertise and capacity of subnational units in this issue area, however, have not fully been demonstrated yet. NRM exposes the experimental state of its transnational environmental cooperation through subnational diplomacy. One final point is that subnational diplomacy is at a crossroads after twenty years since its emergence. Although relationships between inter-state organizations and transnational bodies composed of subnational authorities remain to be seen, subnational diplomacy today is not new in international relations. Subnational diplomatic undertakings are now in a matured phase which is represented by their institutionalization, increasing agendas, spreading geographic scope, and expanding interaction with various actors in the international scene. These findings lead to the conclusion that there are two important keys to the progress of subnational diplomacy studies. One is an approach which explores subnational diplomacy as a distinct subject of research. The other is a world-wide, up-to-date, and issue-by-issue inquiry into the factual cases of current subnational diplomatic practices.

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[20] Duchacek, "Perforated Sovereignties," 3-9.

TABLES

Note: In Tables 1-6, * indicates a host city of each NIC, and [ ] means the cumulative number of the participation of each city in NIC. In Tables 7-13, * indicates a host regional government of each NRC, the Northern Forum Board of Directors Meeting and General Assembly, and [ ] means the cumulative number of the participation of each regional government in them.

Table 1 Participants in the 1st NIC (1982) (9 Cities)

Edmonton (Canada); Harbin, Shenyang (China); Helsinki (Finland); Munich (Germany); Sapporo* (Japan); Anchorage, Minneapolis, Portland (U.S.A.).

(Source: IAMNC, International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities: Application for Membership, 1994.)

Table 2 Participants in the 2nd NIC (1985) (10 Cities)

Edmonton (Canada) [2]; Changchun [1] , Harbin [2], Shenyang* [2] (China); Munich [1] (Germany); Turin [1] (Italy); Takikawa [1], Sapporo [2] (Japan); Chicago [1], Portland [2] (U.S.A.).

(Source: IAMNC, Application for Membership, 1994)

Table 3 Participants in the 3rd NIC (1988) (17 Cities)

Innsbruck (Austria) [1]; Edmonton* [3], Hull [1] (Canada); Changchun [2], Harbin [3], Shenyang [3] (China); Helsinki [2] (Finland); Albertville [1] (France); Munich [2] (Germany); Takikawa [2], Sapporo [3] (Japan); Oslo [1], Tromso [1] (Norway); Stockholm [1] (Sweden); Leningrad [1] (U.S.S.R.); Minneapolis [2] (U.S.A.); Sarajevo [1] (Yugoslavia).

(Source: IAMNC, Application for Membership, 1994)

Table 4 Participants in the 4th NIC (1990) (20 Cities)

Innsbruck [2] (Austria); Calgary [1], Edmonton [4], Hull [2], Montreal [1] (Canada); Harbin [4], Shenyang [4] (China); Nuuk [1] (Denmark); Oulu [1], Tampere [1] (Finland); Albertville [2] (France); Takikawa [3], Sapporo [4] (Japan); Lillehammer [1], Oslo [2], Tromso* [2] (Norway); Lulea [1], Stockholm [2] (Sweden); Anchorage [2], Minneapolis [2] (U.S.A.).

(Source: IAMNC, Application for Membership, 1994)

Table 5 Participants in the 5th NIC (1992) (34 Cities)

Innsbruck [3] (Austria); Calgary [2], Edmonton [5], Halifax [1], Hull [3], Laval [1], Montreal* [2], Ottawa [1], Quebec [1], Regina [1], St. Johns [1], Winnipeg [1], Yellowknife [1] (Canada); Chanchung [1], Harbin [5], Jiamusi [1], Jilin [1], Qiqiha(e)r [1], Shenyang [5] (China); Prague [1] (Czechoslovakia); Nuuk [2] (Denmark); Helsinki [3], Oulu [2] (Finland); Grenoble [1] (France); Aomori [1], Sapporo [5], Takikawa [4] (Japan); Lillehammer [2], Oslo [3], Tromso [3] (Norway); Lulea [2], Stockholm [3] (Sweden); Anchorage [3], Minneapolis [3] (U.S.A.).

(Source: IAMNC, Application for Membership, 1994)

Table 6 Participants in the 6th NIC and the 1st IAMNC General Assembly (1994) (30 Cities)

Note: < > indicates the position of each city in IAMNC.

Innsbruck <Non-standing Director> [4] (Austria); Calgary [3], Edmonton <Vice President> [6], Hull [4], Montreal [3], Quebec [2], Winnipeg <Standing Director> [2], Yellowknife [2] (Canada); Harbin [6], Jiamusi [2], Jilin [2], Qiqiha(e)r [2], Shenyang <Vice President> [6] (China); Nuuk [3] (Denmark); Helsinki [4] (Finland); Aomori [2], Chitose [1], Sapporo <President> [6], Takikawa [5] (Japan); Tromso <Vice President> [4] (Norway); Bratsk [1] (Russia); Kiruna [1], Lulea [3], Stockholm [4] (Sweden); Anchorage* <Standing Director> [4], Barrow [1], Bethel [1], Kenai Peninsula [1], Marquette [1], Valdez [1] (U.S.A.).

(Source: IAMNC, Application for Membership, 1994)

Table 7 Participants in the 1st NRC (1974) (17 Regional Governments and 3 Cities)

Alberta Province, British Columbia Province, Manitoba Province, New Brunswick Province, Nova Scotia Province, Ontario Province, Saskatchewan Province, North West Territories (Canada); Helsinki City (Finland); Hokkaido Prefecture* (Japan); Oslo City (Norway); Stockholm City (Sweden); Alaska State, Idaho State, Minnesota State, Montana State, North Dakota State, Oregon State, Washington State, Wisconsin State (U.S.A.).

(Source: GOH, The International Conference on [Human] Environment in Northern Regions Report [Japanese], 1974)

Table 8 Participants in the 2nd NRC (1979) (20 Regional Governments and 1 City)

Alberta Province* [2], British Columbia Province [2], Manitoba Province [2], New Brunswick Province [2], Newfoundland Province [1], Nova Scotia Province [2], Ontario Province [2], Quebec Province [1], Saskatchewan Province [2], North West Territories [2], Yukon Territory [1] (Canada); Helsinki City [2] (Finland); Heilongjang Province [1] (China); Hokkaido Prefecture [2] (Japan); Gangweon-Do Prefecture [1] (Republic of Korea); Alaska State [2], Idaho State [2], North Dakota State [2], Vermont State [1], Washington State [2], Wisconsin State [2] (U.S.A.).

[Observer: The Canadian Federal Government]

(Source: Government of Alberta, The Second International Conference on the Human Environment in Northern Regions Report, 1979)

Table 9 Participants in the 3rd NRC (1990) (15 Regional Governments)

Alberta Province [3], British Columbia Province [3], Northwest Territories [3], Yukon Territory [2] (Canada); Heilongjiang [2] (China); Greenland [1] (Denmark); Lapland Region [1] (Finland); Hokkaido [3] (Japan); Trondelag Province [1] (Norway); Vasterbotten County [1] (Sweden); Alaska State* [3], Washington State [3] (U.S.A.); Khabarovsk Territory [1], Magadan Region [1], Sakhalin Region [3] (U.S.S.R.).

[Observers: Chukchi District of Magadan Region, Jewish Autonomous Region of Khabarovsk Territories, Koryak District of Kamchatka Region, Primor'ye Territories, Yamal Nenets District of Tyumen' Region (U.S.S.R.).]

(English Translations of Soviet and Russian Subnational Administrative Units: Republics, Oblasts=Regions, Krays=Territories, Autonomous Okrugs=Districts, Autonomous Oblasts=Autonomous Regions. Autonomies lower, not in all but many cases, in this order.)

(Source: State of Alaska, The Third Northern Regions Conference, Anchorage, Alaska 1990. Summary Proceedings: Cooperation in a Changing World, 1990)

Table 10 Participants in the Northern Forum 1st Board of Directors Meeting (1992) (9 Regional Governments)

Yukon Territory* [3] (Canada); Heilongjiang Province [3] (China); Hokkaido Prefecture [4] (Japan); Republic of Korea [1] (Member Level II); Chukotka District [1], Jewish Autonomous Region [1], Magadan Region [2] (Russia); Northern Norway Regional Authority [1], South Trondelag County [1] (Norway); Alaska [4] (U.S.A.).

[Observers: Alberta Province, Manitoba Province (Canada)]

(Source: GOH, Interior document obtained in October 1992)

Table 11 Participants in the Northern Forum 1st General Assembly (1993) (18 Regional Governments)

Yukon Territory [4] (Canada); Heilongjiang Province [4] (China); Lapland Region [2] (Finland); Hokkaido Prefecture [5] (Japan); Dornod Provence [1] (Mongolia); Northern Norway Regional Authority* [2], South Trondelag County [2] (Norway); Chukotka District [2], Jewish Autonomous Region [2], Kamchatka Region [1], Khabarovsk Territory [2], Komi Republic [1], Leningrad [St. Petersburg] Region [1], Magadan Region [3], Nenets District [1], Sakha Republic [1], Sakhalin Region [4] (Russia); Alaska State [5] (U.S.A.).

(Source: The Northern Forum Secretariat, The Northern Forum First General Assembly Report, 1993)

Table 12 Participants in the Northern Forum 2nd Board of Directors Meeting (1994) (17 Regional Governments)

Alberta Province [4] (Canada); Heilongjiang Province [5] (China); Lapland Region* [2] (Finland); Hokkaido Prefecture [6] (Japan); Republic of Korea [2] (Member Level II); Northern Norway Regional Authority [3], South Trondelag County [3] (Norway); Vasterbotten County [1] (Sweden); Chukotka District [3], Evenk District [1], Kamchatka Region [2], Khanty Mansi(i)sk District [1], Magadan Region [4], Komi Republic [2], Nenets District [2], Sakha Republic [2], Sakhalin Region [5] (Russia); Alaska State [6] (U.S.A.).

[Observer: British Columbia Province (Canada); Russian Federal Government, Dolgano-Nenetsk (Taymyr) District, Yamalo-Nenetsk District (Russia or C.I.S.)]

(Source: The Northern Forum Secretariat, The Northern Forum Second Board of Directors Meeting Report, 1994)

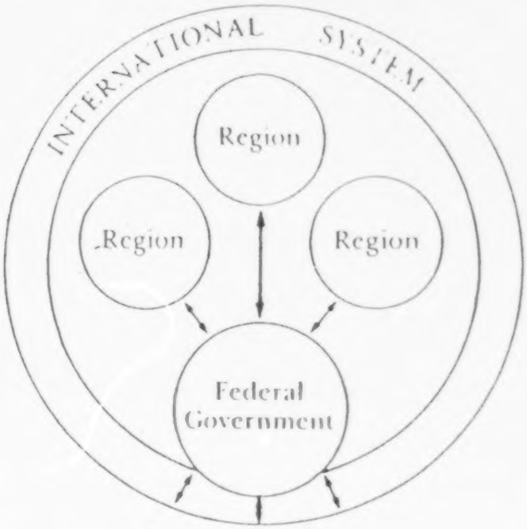
Table 13 Participants in the Northern Forum 2nd General Assembly (Present Members of the Northern Forum as of Sep. 1995) (18 Regional Governments)

Note: < > indicates the position of each local government in the Executive Committee of the Northern Forum.

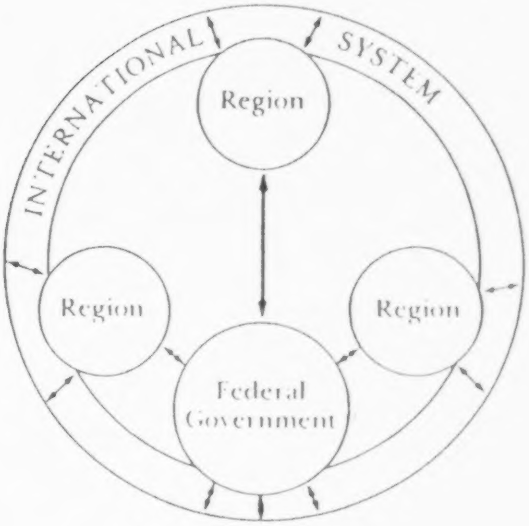
Alberta Province [5] (Canada); Heilongiang Province [6] (China); Lapland Region [3] (Finland); Hokkaido Prefecture* <Vice Chair> [7] (Japan); Korea [3] (Member Level II); Dornod Province [2] (Mongolia); Northern Norway Regional Authority <Chair> [4], South Trondelag County [4] (Norway); Chukotka District [4], Evenk District [2], Kamchatka Region [3], Khanty Mansisk District [2], Komi Republic [3], Magadan Region [5], Nenets District [3], Sakha Republic <Vice Chair> [3], Sakhalin Region [6] (Russia); Vasterbotten [2] (Sweden); Alaska State <Vice Chair> [7] (U.S.A.).

(Source: The Northern Forum Secretariat, The Northern Forum Resolution #27, Distributed at the Northern Forum 2nd General Assembly on Sep. 14, 1995)

FIGURE 1 Regional Governments and Foreign Policy



1 *Traditional Image*



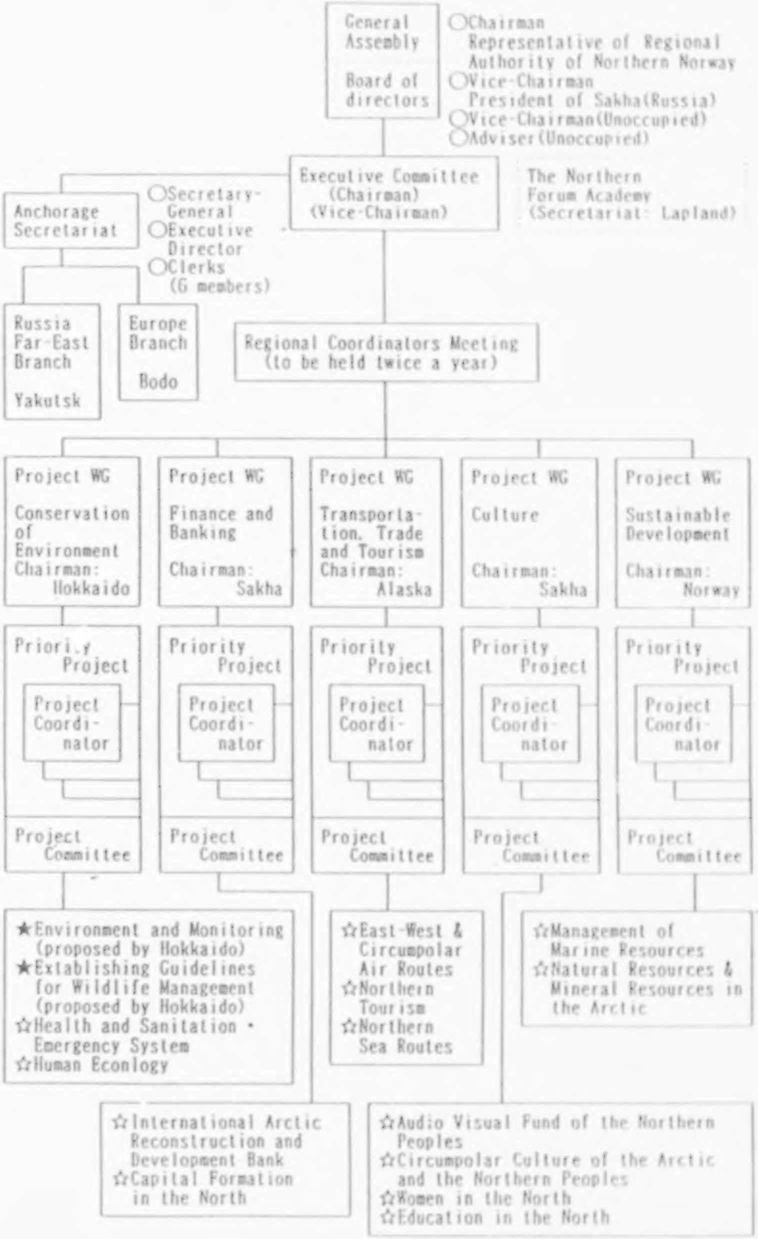
2 *Revised Image*

[Adapted from B. Hocking, "Regional Governments and International Affairs: Foreign Policy Problems or Deviant Behavior?" International Journal 61.3 (1986) 492.]

FIGURE 2 Chart of NIC and the Winter Cities Biennial

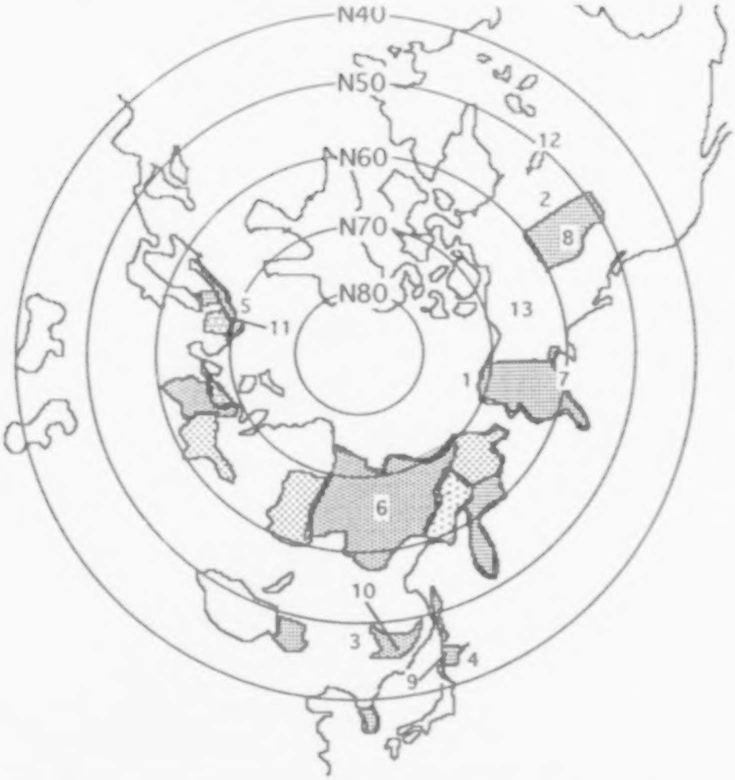
1st NIC (Sapporo, 1981)
|
2nd NIC (Shenyang, 1985)
|
| - Winter Cities Forum 1986 - IWCC (Edmonton)
|
3rd NIC (Edmonton, 1988) - 1988 Winter Cities Showcase
Northern Intercity Conference
Committee (NICC) (Sapporo)
|
4th NIC (Tromso, 1990) - 1990 Winter Cities Showcase
Winter Urban Environmental
Research Subcommittee (WUERSC)
|
1st WUERSC Meeting (Sapporo, 1991)
Preliminary Meeting for 5th NIC (Sapporo, 1991)
|
5th NIC (Montreal, 1992) - 1992 Winter Cities Showcase
2nd WUERSC Meeting (Montreal, 1992)
|
3rd WUERSC Meeting (Anchorage, 1993)
International Association of
Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC)
|
4th WUERSC Meeting (Sapporo, 1993)
|
6th NIC (Anchorage, 1994) - 1994 Winter Cities Showcase
|
7th NIC (Winnipeg, 1996) - 1996 Winter Cities Showcase

FIGURE 3 Organization Chart of the Northern Forum


General Assembly
Board of directors
○Chairman Representative of Regional Authority of Northern Norway
○Vice-Chairman President of Sakha(Russia)
○Vice-Chairman(Unoccupied)
○Adviser(Unoccupied)
Executive Committee (Chairman) (Vice-Chairman)
The Northern Forum Academy (Secretariat: Lapland)
Anchorage Secretariat
○Secretary-General
○Executive Director
○Clerks (6 members)
Russia Far-East Branch Yakutsk
Europe Branch Bodo
Regional Coordinators Meeting (to be held twice a year)
Project WG Conservation of Environment Chairman: Hokkaido
Project WG Finance and Banking Chairman: Sakha
Project WG Transportation, Trade and Tourism Chairman: Alaska
Project WG Culture Chairman: Sakha
Project WG Sustainable Development Chairman: Norway
Priority Project
Project Coordinator
Project Committee
★Environment and Monitoring (proposed by Hokkaido)
★Extablishing Guidelines for Wildlife Management (proposed by Hokkaido)
☆Health and Sanitation · Emergency System
☆Human Econlogy
☆East-West & Circumpolar Air Routes
☆Northern Tourism
☆Northern Sea Routes
☆Management of Marine Resources
☆Natural Resources & Mineral Resources in the Arctic
☆International Arctic Reconstruction and Development Bank
☆Capital Formation in the North
☆Audio Visual Fund of the Northern Peoples
☆Circumpolar Culture of the Arctic and the Northern Peoples
☆Women in the North
☆Education in the North

[Adapted from Northern Forum, Environmental Status Report of the Northern Region 2., GOH (1995) 5.]

MAP The Northern Region



The Northern Forum (Main Members)

1 Alaska
2 Alberta
3 Heilongiang
4 Hokkaido
5 Northern Norway
6 Sakha

The International Association of Mayors of Northern Cities (IAMNC) (Main Members)

7 Anchorage
8 Edmonton
9 Sapporo
10 Harbin
11 Tromso
12 Winnipeg
13 Yellowknife

ABBREVIATIONS

ACIR	(US) Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment
GOH	Government of Hokkaido
GRP	Gross Regional Product
HDA	Hokkaido Development Agency
IACLA	International Association of Cities and Local Authorities
IAMNC	International Association of Mayors of Northern Forum
IWCC	International Winter Cities Committee
NERI	Northern Economic Region Initiative
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIC	Northern Intercity Conference
NICC	Northern Intercity Conference Committee
NRC	Northern Regions Center / Northern Regions Conference
NRM	Northern Regions Movement
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SCO	Sapporo City Office
SHARP	Strategic Highway Research Program
UN	United Nations

UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
WCA	Winter Cities Association
WCM	Winter Cities Montreal Foundation
WUERSC	Winter Urban Environment Research Subcommittee

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APPENDIX 1

IAMNC Membership Contributions (FY1995, Unit:US$)

Country	City	Amount
Austria	Innsbruck	6,000
Canada	Edmonton	12,000
	Hull	3,000
	Montreal*	0
	Winnipeg	12,000
	Yellowknife	3,000
China	Changchun	2,500
	Harbin	2,500
	Jilin	2,500
	Jiamusi	2,500
	Qiqiha(e)r	2,000
	Shenyang	2,500
Denmark (Greenland)	Nuuk	3,000
Japan	Aomori	6,000
	Sapporo**	15,000
	Takikawa	3,000
Norway	Tromso	3,000
Sweden	Kiruna	3,000
	Lulea	3,000
	Stockholm	12,000
U.S.A.	Anchorage	6,000
	Barrow	3,000
	Total	107,500

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* Montreal withdrew from IAMNC in July 1995.

**Sapporo City contributed about US$336,685 (33,670,000 yen) to IAMNC in addition to its membership fee to maintain IAMNC's Secretariat and for other purposes in this fiscal year.

(Source: IAMNC Secretariat, Interior document obtained on September 20, 1995)

APPENDIX 2

The Northern Forum Membership Contributions (FY1994/95)

(As of Aug. 4, 1995. Membership Fees Only.)

Paid

$7,000	Chukotka District, Evenk District, Khanty-Mansi(i)sk District (Russia).
$10,000	Alberta Province (Canada); Heilongjiang Province (China); Hokkaido Prefecture (Japan); Republic of Korea (Member Level II); Lapland Region (Finland); Northern Norway Regional Authority, South Trondelag County (Norway); Kamchatka Region, Magadan Region, Sakhalin Region (Russia); Vasterbotten County (Sweden); Alaska State (U.S.A.).
$15,000	Komi Republic, Sakha Republic [Yakutia] (Russia).

Outstanding

$7,000	Nenets District (Russia).
$10,000	Dornod Province (Mongolia); Khabarovsk Territory, Leningrad Region, Nenets District (Russia).

Canceled

$7,000	Jewish Autonomous Region (Russia).
$10,000	Yukon Territory (Canada).

(Source: The Northern Forum Secretariat, Interior document obtained by fax on Aug.4, 1995.)

APPENDIX 3

The Japanese Constitution Articles 92-95

Article 92

Regulations concerning organization and operations of local public entities shall be fixed by law in accordance with the principle of local autonomy.

Article 93

The local public entities shall establish assemblies as their deliberative organs, in accordance with law. The chief executive officers of all local public entities, the members of their assembles, and such other local officials as may be determined by law shall be elected by direct popular vote within their several communities.

Article 94

Local public entities shall have the right to manage their property, affairs and administration and to enact their own regulations within law.

Article 95

A special law, applicable only to one local public entity, cannot be enacted by the Diet without the consent of the majority of the voters of the local public entity concerned, obtained in accordance with law.